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Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

From the Original, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

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CHARLES BRANDON,

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

THIS fortunate and gallant man was the son of William, or, as he is generally styled, Sir William Brandon, (though it is doubtful whether he was a knight) by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Bruyn, and widow of a gentleman of the name of Mallory. It may be said that he had an hereditary claim on the friendship and gratitude of Henry the Eighth, for his father had appeared among the first asserters of the late King's title to the throne; had forfeited an ample patrimony, and joined that prince in his exile in Britany; returned with him to England; and fell in Bosworth Field, where he bore the standard of the House of Lancaster, in the very hour which seemed to promise him the brightest fortunes. He was slain by the hand of royal Richard himself.

Charles became in every sense a ward of the Crown; was bred in the Court, and chosen by the King as one of the more familiar attendants on the person of his heir. He must have been at least five years older than the Prince, for his father died in 1486, and the young Henry was not born till 1491. It is probable then that he became rather the director than the companion, as he has generally been called, of his master's amusements; and that the observation too which somewhat riper years perhaps enabled him, even at that time, to make on Henry's disposition might have laid the foundation of that uninterrupted security in which for so many years he alone enjoyed constantly the royal favour. With a sufficient understanding for higher spheres of action, he seems, and indeed in such a reign it was a proof of his sagacity, to have adopted by choice the character of a mere courtier; but he moved in it with a rare dignity, and envy, malice, and duplicity, seem to have been unknown to him. "The gallants of the Court," says Lord Herbert, in his history of the year 1513, "finding now the King's favour shining manifestly on Wolsey, applied themselves much to him; and especially Charles Brandon, who, for his goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes." This is the sole record against him of any thing like subservience or flattery.

Henry, on mounting the throne, appointed him one of the Esquires of the Body, and Chamberlain of the Principality of Wales. In 1513 he first appeared in warlike service; was present in that desperate action with a French squadron which occurred early in the spring of that year off Brest; and on his return was created a Peer, by the title of Viscount L'Isle. That dignity was conferred on him on the fifteenth of May, and on the last day of June he embarked with Henry on that invasion of France which was distinguished by the successful siege of Therouënne, and by the action vulgarly called the Battle of Spurs, in a supposed allusion to the swiftness with which the French fled from the field, but which in fact obtained its name from the village of Spours, near which it was fought. He commanded the vanguard of the English army in that service, after which he marched with the King into Flanders, where, having reduced Tournay, they were met at Lisle, and splendidly entertained by the Emperor Maximilian. Here he is said not only to have made some impression on the heart of that monarch's daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, but even to have aspired to her hand. "I find," says Herbert again, "some overture of a match between Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, and the princess Margaret; which, though it took no effect, was not yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part."

He was destined however to obtain a consort yet more illustrious. The Princess Mary, second sister to Henry, had been married in the autumn of 1514 to Louis the Twelfth of France; a political union of youth and beauty to debilitated old age. Brandon, now Duke of Suffolk, having been so created on the first of the preceding February, was sent, with the flower of the English nobility, to grace the nuptials; and it has been said, that his skill and courage in the justs which formed a part of the celebration, and which chanced to be contended with more than usual fierceness, captivated the affections of the Queen. It is more reasonable however to suppose, nor is the conjecture altogether unsupported by historical evidence, that she had flattered his hopes long before she quitted England. Be the fact as it may, the good Louis died within three months after his marriage, and his youthful Dowager, within very few days after, was secretly married to the Duke of Suffolk, which ceremony was publickly repeated soon after at Calais, and, finally, at Greenwich, on the thirteenth of May, 1515.

It is difficult to reconcile Henry's conduct to his character with regard to this affair. He made at first a slight shew of resentment, but was presently appeased, and the return of his favour was accompanied by a grant to the Duke of the great estates which had formerly belonged to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Is it possible that friendship and love could have extorted this tribute from haughtiness and tyranny, or was it the result of mere policy, cold in its motives, and accidentally just in its consequence? We can perhaps have no better clue to the solution of the question than in Lord Herbert's account of this, the most important circumstance of the Duke's life, which take in the words of the historian, who, in speaking of the treaty of peace then pending with France, for which Suffolk was the first plenipotentiary, concludes thus—"Together with the proposing of this treaty, our King sent a letter to the Queen, his sister, wherein he desired to know how she stood affected to her return to England; desiring her withal not to match without his consent. She, on the other side, who had privately engaged her affections to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover herself to both Kings," (meaning Francis the First, who had succeeded her late husband, and her brother Henry) "intreating Francis to mediate this marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, though once intending to propose a match between her and the Duke of Savoy; but our King, for the conservation of his dignity, held a little off: however, he had long since designed her to Suffolk. The Queen also, believing that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting, as appears by an original, that if the King would have her married in any place save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious house. Thus, without any great pomp, being secretly married, the Queen writ letters of excuse to the King her brother, taking the fault, if any were, on herself; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of Suffolk, professed that she prefixed the space of four days to him, in which, she said, unless he could obtain her good will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her: whereby, as also through the good office of Francis, who, fearing lest our King by her means should contract some greater alliance, did further this marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; Wolsey also not a little contributing thereto, while he told our King how much better bestowed she was on him than on some person of quality in France." Suffolk, in addition to the probable advantages of this affinity to the throne, derived immense wealth from his marriage to Mary. Her jointure was sixty thousand crowns annually, and the personal property which she was allowed to bring to England, was estimated at two hundred thousand, together with a celebrated diamond, of immense price, called "le Miroir de Naples."

In 1515, on some occasion of disgust between him and Wolsey, he retired for a considerable time into the country; but Henry loved him too well to sacrifice him to the favourite, and the duke, on his part, had too much nobleness of spirit to oppose Wolsey by any other means than those of an honest and open resentment, which seems ever after to have subsisted. He returned to the Court with unimpaired favour; was among the first of Henry's gallant companions in the romantic festivities of 1520, which distinguished the King's famous interview with Francis the First in Picardy; and in 1523 invaded France at the head of twelve thousand men. The circumstances of that expedition afford a curious proof of the imperfection of the

military œconomy of those days, even in the two greatest military powers of Europe: for, while the utmost efforts of the French were insufficient to prevent that small force, aided by eight thousand Germans, from penetrating within eleven leagues of Paris, Suffolk, on the other hand, having gained that mighty advantage, found himself obliged to retrace his steps precipitately to Calais, to save his men from dying of hunger. Henry was highly displeased at this retreat, and the Duke wisely deferred his voyage to England till he had appeased his master's choler.

In the eventful period which shortly followed he became unavoidably an actor in the great scenes which distinguished it. He was a witness in 1529 in the enquiry on which the King grounded his claim of divorce from Catherine; subscribed to the articles preferred by the Parliament against Wolsey; and also to the declaration addressed by the Peers in the same Parliament to Pope Clement the Seventh, by which they threatened to abolish the supremacy of the Holy See in England, should the Pontiff deny his consent to the dissolution of the marriage. He fell indeed into all the measures which led to the reformation, with a readiness which, if it were not the result of insincerity, might perhaps, at best, be ascribed to an indifference as to all modes of religious faith; and Henry afterwards rewarded his compliance by grants of abbey lands to a vast amount. In 1536 he commanded the troops which were then hastily raised to march against the insurgents of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and in 1544 once more attended Henry to France, and was appointed General of the army sent to besiege Boulogne, which he reduced, after a siege of six weeks. His health was probably at that time declining, for he made his will immediately before his departure, and died on the fourteenth of August, in the following year. By that instrument, which is dated the twentieth of June, 1544, he orders that a cup of gold should be made of his collar of the Garter, and given to the King; that the ceremonies of his funeral should be conducted with a frugality and plainness very unusual at that time; to use his own words, "without any pomp, or outward pride of the world;" and that his body should be buried in the collegiate church of Tatteshall, in Lincolnshire. He was interred, however, with great magnificence, by the special command of the King, and at his charge, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

The Duke, at the time of his death, held the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests, and Great Master (or, as we now say, Lord Steward) of the Royal Household, and these appear to have been the only public appointments of note that were at any time conferred on him. He had been four times married. First, to Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis Montacute, and widow of Sir John Mortimer, from whom he was divorced, apparently at her suit, because he had, previously to their nuptials, privately signed a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Lieutenant of Calais. He took that Lady to his second wife, and had by her two daughters; Anne, born before marriage, who became the wife of Edward, Lord Powis; and Mary, who married Thomas, Lord Monteagle. The Queen Dowager of France brought him a son, Henry, who was created Earl of Lincoln, and died young; and two daughters, Eleanor, wife of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Frances, married, first to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and then to Adrian Stokes. By his fourth Lady, Catherine, daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, he had two sons, Henry and Charles, who survived him only for the space of six years, for they died of the sweating sickness, at the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Bugden, on the same day, the fourteenth of July, 1551.

The original of the following short letter from the Duke, and his last Duchess, to Lord Cobham, then Governor of Calais, is in the Harleian collection. I insert it merely as a specimen of the familiar epistolary style of him who was esteemed the most polite nobleman of his time.

"After my right hartie comendacons to yo^{r} good Lordshipp, w^{t} like thanks aswell for yo^{r} gentell lr̃e dyrected to me from Callays of the xviith of this instant, as also for yo^{r} qwailes, which this p̃sent mornyng I have receyved by yo^{r} servant. And where you desier to knowe in what p̃t in Kent I shall remayn, to th'entent you wold from tyme to tyme signifye to me of such newes as be currant ther, for yo^{r} soo doing I geve unto you most harty thanks. For aunswere wherunto you shall understand that, as far as I knowe yet, I shall demure in

" this town; but, whersoev^{r} I shall be, you shall have knowlege therof from tyme to tyme. I fynde myself moch beholding to my Lady, yo^{r} bedfellow, who hath sent me venison, and made me good chere.

" Also, as tuching Lightmaker; for a complaynt that he shuld make: By my trouth, my Lord, beleve me he nev^{r} complayned to me of any suche mattr; but indede he told me that the displeashur that was was for that another of his countrey wold have taken away his men; and, as long as he shall behave hymself honestly, I hartley desier you to beare and owe unto hym yo^{r} good wyll and favor, for my sake; and, yf he doo otherwyse, then to be unto hym no woorse thenne you wold be to another. Thus fare yo^{r} Lordshipp right hartely well. From Rochester, the XIXth of June.

Yo^{r} Lordshipp's assured freend,

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE."

" MY LORD,

Wth my harté thankes for yo^{r} gentle remembrans, I lekewys mayk to you my harté comendesens.

Yo^{r} pouer frend,

KATHERINE SUFFOULK."

Walter Devereux, Earl of Elsex.

From the original Picture, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble Lord Bagot.

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WALTER DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

In a reign abounding with historical anomalies this nobleman's story is pre-eminently remarkable. Loyal to enthusiasm, but slighted by his Sovereign; of the most spotless honour and integrity, but never trusted; equally distinguished by his skill and bravery in the military profession, to which he had dedicated his life, and uniformly checked in every enterprise he proposed; uniting in his veins the highest blood of the land, and subjected to the mortifying controul of inferiors, in an age too when illustrious birth usually furnished the strongest claim to respect; he sunk into the grave at an early age, at once an ornament and a disgrace to his time, leaving a sad memorial of disregarded merits, and unrequited services.

His birth was indeed very noble, for he descended maternally from the great Houses of Ferrers, Bourchier, and Grey, from the first of which his paternal ancestors had derived the Barony of Ferrers of Chartley; his grandfather, Walter, Lord Ferrers, had been by Edward the Sixth advanced to the title of Viscount Hereford; his father, Sir Richard Devereux, who did not live to enjoy the titles, took to wife Dorothy, daughter of George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and he was the eldest son of that marriage. He was born about the year 1540, and succeeded to the honours and estates of his family in the nineteenth year of his age, on the death of his grandfather. His good sense, his politeness, and his learning, for he had been excellently educated, placed him, for a time, so high in Elizabeth's favour, that she once styled him, in a letter under her own hand, "the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility." He was anxious, however, to build his fame on a larger basis than the graces and accomplishments of a courtier, and eagerly seized the opportunity which the rebellion in the North of 1569 offered to him, at once to render a signal service to his Sovereign, and to establish a military reputation. On that occasion, he joined the Queen's forces with a considerable body of troops, raised and equipped at his own charge, and so contributed materially to the speedy dispersion of the insurgents. He received an especial, though rather deferred, reward, for in 1572 the Earldom of Essex, a dignity which formerly had been held by his ancestors, the Bourchiers, was conferred on him, and that service is particularly stated in the preamble to his patent. Elizabeth thought fit to distinguish his creation by unusual ceremonies, which she concluded by girding on his sword, and placing the coronet on his head, with her own hands. About the same time she gave him the order of the Garter.

In the succeeding year he was enabled to put into practice a plan which, though probably long considered, was less distinguished by its prudence than by a generous spirit of enterprise. Ireland was then the only scene of military operations, and a fierce insurrection reigned, particularly in Ulster. Essex prevailed on the queen to permit him to volunteer his services there, under a very singular agreement. Brian Mac Phelim, more frequently called "the great O'Neil, a powerful chief, had possessed himself of the most part of the district of Clanhughboy, in that province, from which the Earl undertook to dislodge him, on condition that Elizabeth should grant to the conquerors, and their commander, one half of the subdued district, for the defence of which he stipulated to maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and, to furnish himself with the means, he borrowed ten thousand pounds of the Queen, on mortgage of his estates in Essex. It has been said, and there seems little reason to doubt it, that the Queen's consent to this romantic expedition was obtained chiefly through the intercession of his enemy Leicester, who watched his growing

favour with a jealous eye, and had used every artifice to flatter and encourage his inclination, and to procure the dispatch to a distance of a rival whom he dreaded. Essex, although perhaps as much distinguished by an acute penetration as by the noble simplicity of his mind, seems to have been unconscious of this design to the last; but he foresaw other difficulties, and set out on his journey with a heavy heart. The two following letters to the Treasurer Burghley, from the originals in the Harleian collection, while they prove that fact, will be found to throw a strong, and very advantageous light on the Earl's character: we find too, in the second no inconsiderable proof of the wisdom of Elizabeth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

I have passed the assurance of v^{c} lb land to the Quene's Ma^{te}, after suche sort as her Ma$^{te's}$ Counsell hathe devised, as shall appere unto you by M^{r} Attorney's certificat. I shall nowe desyre your L. to send your warrant to S^{r} Thom^{s} Gresham for delyvery of the moneye unto me. My L. Chamberlen told me yesterday that he hathe sent unto your L. the articles touching the comission for govn^{m}ement of the contrey for a tyme, and of those I carry wth me. I praye your L. after you have considered of them, to direct your warrant for the making of the comission. Yf your L. do not come shortli unto the Court, I shall desyre you to wryte to my L. Chamberlen, and my Lord of Leicester, to further my dispatche. I have vearie greate busynes to do in the contrey after I have done here, and therefore wold I be gladlie dispatched hence. I meane not to tarry long after my patent and comission are sealed.

I here y^{t} your L. rides to your house at Burghley. I desyre that I maye knowe the tyme of your returne to the Court, or to your house at Theobalds. Yf your L. do not returne before the last of this monethe, I will then wayte uppon you at Burghley. I do, my Lord, make my reconyng of your L. to be my assured pillar; and if I did not hope that, assuredlie I wold not have taken the jorney in hand, if the Quene had geven me the x thowsand poundes she lent me. I loke for to fynd enymyes enoughe to this enterprise, and I feele of some of them alredye. I praye your L. that you will, when your leysure will serve you, set downe what course you thinck beste for me to take for the order of those people I carry w^{t} me, and fynd there. As I do onlye repose my truste uppon you, so will I be only directed by you.

When your L. wrytes unto my Lord Deputie of Ireland I praye you that you will desyre his favour and furtherance to me in this enterprise. He shall fynd me as ready to do any service there to her Majestie, undernethe him, and to get any honor unto him, as he shall fynd any man. He is a gentleman whom I have ev^{r} loved, and lyked well of, and I have good hope I shall fynd him my frend; and yet some suspic^{o}on have I had of late of yt, by reason of some speche that hath passed from his nere frends.

Thus, resting ev^{r} at yo^{r} L.' comandement, I shall comyt you to the Lord. From Duresme Place, this xxii of June, 1573.

Your Lordship's at comaundment,

W. ESSEX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

Yesterday I was at the Courte, and dyd take my leave of her Ma^{tie}. She hathe signed all my books, and I am dep^{t}ted from her Ma^{tie} w^{t} verie good words, and promyse of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise. Uppon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two speciall things to advise me of: the one was that I should have considerac^{o}on of the Irishe there, whiche she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because they have not byn defended from the force of the Scotts then for any other cause. Her Ma$^{tie's}$ opynion was that, uppon my comyng, they wold yeld themselves good subjects, and therefore wyshed them to be well used. To this, my L., I answered that I determyned to deale so wth them as I shuld fynd beste for her service when I came there; and, for the present, I could not saye what is beste to be done; but this her Ma^{tie} shold be sure of; that I wold not imbrue my hands w^{h} more blud then the necessitie of the cause requireth. The other speciall matter was that I shuld not seeke too hastely to bring people that hathe byn trayned in

another religion from that w^ch^ they have been brought uppe in. To this I answered that, for the present, I thought it was best to lerne them to knowe ther aliegence to her Ma^tie^, and to yeld her their due obedience; and, after they had lerned that, they wold be easily brought to be of good religion. Muche more speches besids passed betweene her Ma^tie^ and me, whiche were of no greate importance, and therfore I wryte them not to yo^r^ L.

I am, my L. dep^r^ted from the Court w^t^ many good and fayre promises of diverse, but of the p^r^formance of them I knowe not what assurance I may make. I repose my onlie truste uppon your L. Your honorable dealing w^t^ me, both in this, and at all tymes before, hathe byn suche as hath bound me ever to be at your L.' comandement. And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of yo^r^ L. From Duresme House, this xx^th^ of Julie, 1573.

At your L.' comandement,

W. Essex.

On the sixteenth of August following he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lords Darcy and Rich, and many other persons of distinction, together with a multitude of volunteers of inferior rank, who followed his fortune in the hope of mending their own. They were disappointed, and abandoned him soon after his arrival in Ireland, and this was the first of the long series of misfortunes which attended his expedition. Weakened by their defection, he besought the Queen to let him prosecute the service in her name, and under her command, and offered to discharge a moiety of the expence from his own purse, but his request was denied. He then applied to Sussex, Leicester, and Burghley, to induce her to aid his diminished force with one hundred horse, and six hundred foot, but that too was refused. In the mean time his chagrin was increased by the malice of the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam. Elizabeth, whose sagacity had foreseen the probable jealousy of that officer, had endeavoured to avert it by leaving to him the honour of granting the Earl's commission, the delivery of which he contemptuously delayed for many months. When Essex received it, he was earnestly employed in fortifying Clanhughboy, which in fact was the main object of his plan; but the messenger brought him positive orders from the Deputy to abandon immediately that part of the Island, and to pursue the Earl of Desmond. He obeyed, in silent grief, and had the good fortune, rather by persuasion than force, to reduce that formidable chief to submission. He gained great honour in this, and indeed in all the conduct of his first campaign, yet, says Camden, "with these actions was the year well nigh spent in Ireland, to no man's advantage, but to Essex's great damage."

Convinced, thus early, that all his endeavours would be sacrificed to the envy of the Deputy, and the secret influence of Leicester, and doubtful of the ability of his force to cope with the enemy, he requested permission in the beginning of the following year to treat with their leader, and was refused. He then surrendered his government of Ulster, was soon after suddenly obliged by the Deputy to resume it, and once more to march far from thence against the insurgents, to whom, when he unexpectedly found himself on the point of subduing them, he was peremptorily instructed to offer terms of peace. Still he obeyed. He concluded a treaty, even honourable to his Sovereign and to himself; and again returned into Ulster, which, in his absence, had been invaded by the Hebridian Scots. He presently dispossessed them of the tract of country which they had gained, and pursued them to their own islands, on which he was establishing military posts, when, without the assignment of any reason for so cruel an insult, he was deprived of his command; and required to serve at the head only of three hundred men, with the mere title of their captain. Elizabeth felt for his hardships, and indeed may be considered as having shared in his indignities; but, such was her blind submission to the will of the detestable Leicester, that she durst not openly protect him. In the midst of his vexations of this year, Burghley, whose friendship for him Essex appears to have justly estimated, vainly recommended it to her to appoint him to succeed his enemy, Fitzwilliam, in the office of Lord Deputy—a new circumstance in his story, which is communicated to us by the following letter, from an original in the same collection with those before inserted, abounding with indirect allusions to the misconduct of that officer.

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

My good Lorde,

Yt greaveth me that I shoulde so often trouble yo^{r} L. as I doe, but necessitie doth compell me, for I finde none whoe is carefull of myselfe, or my a$\tilde{c}$ions, but yo^{r} selfe. I wille not trouble your L. wth a longe discourse of the state of things here, but wille referre you to the lr$\tilde{e}$s written to my L L of the Counsaill.

We have expected here the cominge of S^{r} Henrye Sydney theise two monethes, but that brute beginneth now to dye. Suerly my L. the daylie lookinge for of a chaunge dothe great harme; for duringe this interim is the greatest spoile comitted, because all the ylle disposed now robbe and steale, hopinge that the newe governor will pardon all done before his tyme. God send us shortlie a settled governor, and such a one as is fytte for Ireland, not Ireland fytte for him. This people waxe proude: yea, the best might be amended: all nede correction.

I understand by divers of my freinds that your L. hathe both wished and laboured to place me in this unfortunate office. There is juste cause whie I shoulde thinke myselfe moste depelie bounde to you for yt, for I knowe yo^{r} L. wishethe yt for my good; but the feare of envie, and of evill assistaunce, dothe so much discourage me to take yt, as, I assure you, my L., I wishe yt rather to any man that were fytte for it then to myselfe. I knowe that, as the enterteinm^{t} is honorable, so is the charge great, and the burden hevie; and whoe shall serve the Q. and his countrye faithfullie shall have his payne a rewarde for his travaile: but, yf he wille respect his gayne more then his Prince, countrie, or honestie, then may he make his gayne unmercifull.

Because I will shortlie send againe, I will not trouble your L. longer, but wille conclude wth my humble thanks for the money w^{ch} yo^{r} L. hathe p$\tilde{c}$cured me, w^{ch} I assure you was muche neded. God preserve yo^{r} L. longe in healthe and honor. From the Newrye, the 28 of August, 1574.

Your L.' most bounden,

W. Essex.

Having remonstrated in vain, both to the Queen and the Privy Council, by letters equally spirited and judicious, which may be found in Collins's Sidney Papers, he returned to England in the spring of the following year. He had been long apprised of Leicester's treachery towards him, and now gave vent to his indignation, with all the courage and candour which belonged to his character; yet that prodigious hypocrite not only found means to appease him, but even dared to proffer his friendship, and, in the end, persuaded Essex to grasp at the deceitful phantom. He was induced once more to return to Ireland, with general promises of better usage, and more extensive powers; and with the dignified but inefficient office of Earl Marshal in that Kingdom, granted to him at Leicester's special intreaty. On his arrival there, however, he found the same baleful influence still prevailing against him. All his councils were slighted; all his active endeavours thwarted; all his motives misrepresented. He survived but few months. Those who had spared no pains to blast all his views of honour and happiness industriously reported that he died of a broken heart, or, in other words, of a dysentery produced by grief. They certainly were best qualified to draw that inference from their own conduct; but the rumour was discredited. The strongest suspicions of poison had been excited; and his friends, who indeed composed the nation, for no man was more generally beloved and admired, pointed with one accord at Leicester as the murderer. Three minutely particular accounts of his illness are extant in print; the first, in the pamphlet called Leicester's Commonwealth; the second, which has been attributed to Essex's beloved and faithful retainer, Sir Edward Waterhouse, in Hearne's preface to his edition of Camden's Annals; and the third, in a letter from Sir Henry Sidney, at that time Lord Deputy, to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the Sidney Papers. The first and the last of these may be reasonably suspected of opposite partiality. The object of the one was to load Leicester's memory with every possible imputation; that of the other, to screen it from censure. Sidney, indeed, was married to Leicester's sister, and it detracts nothing from his most honourable character, that he should have laboured to avert from his brother

in law so horrible a charge. Waterhouse's very curious narrative, (if it were his) is given with great candour. The opinion, however, of the writer may be inferred from the words with which it commences. "Walter, the noble Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a laske, as it was supposed, called Dysenteria, through adustion of choler, on Friday, the twenty first of August (or whether it were of any other accident, the living God knoweth, and will revenge it) he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty two days," &c. If this account be correct, of which there seems little room to doubt, the Earl died on the eleventh or twelfth of September, 1576; Dugdale, however, citing good authority, fixes his death to the twenty second of that month. He was buried at Caermarthen, the place of his nativity.

Walter, Earl of Essex, married Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. and left issue by her two sons; Robert, his successor, the accomplished, imprudent, and unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth; and Walter; and two daughters; Penelope, first married to Robert, Lord Rich, afterwards to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; and Dorothy, wife, first, of Sir Thomas Perrot, secondly, of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Some considerable time following the Earl's death had elapsed when it was suddenly discovered, to the astonishment and disgust of the nation, and in confirmation of former suspicions, that Leicester had privately married the widowed Countess almost immediately after the decease of her ill-fated consort.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

From the original of Zucchero, in the Collection of

The Rt. Hon.ble The Earl of Carlisle, K. G.

Drawn by J. Jackson, & Engraved (with Permission) by T. Blood.

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THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF SUFFOLK.

JAMES the first, deficient as he was in almost all the qualities of a Sovereign, possessed several virtues. He was naturally kind, grateful, and just; but he knew not how, or cared not, to clothe those dispositions in royal dignity, and he exercised them with the unostentatious simplicity of private life. The great house of Howard, which had of late years furnished so many victims to the frantic barbarity of Henry, or the cruel policy of Elizabeth, became the first object of his care when he mounted the throne. Not with the view of strengthening his own power, for he found the family in a state of great depression; nor on the score of favouritism, for he never entertained any member of it in that capacity; nor to gain an accession of wisdom to his councils, since Elizabeth had bequeathed to him an ample choice of able ministers; but in a beneficent desire to compensate for past injuries, and in gratitude to the memory of one whose life had been prematurely sacrificed to the cause of his unhappy mother.

The nobleman who will be the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son of the illustrious and ill-fated person to whom I allude, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second Duchess, Margaret, daughter and sole heir to Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden. He was born in 1561, and at the age of eleven years succeeded to the inheritance of his mother's estates. Elizabeth, with tardy justice, allowed her Parliament in 1585 to release him from the attainder in which his father's sentence had involved him, and he immediately embraced the profession of arms, which at that time comprehended naval with military service. In 1588 he commanded a ship in the fleet which, under the orders of his kinsman, Charles, Lord Effingham, defeated the memorable Spanish Armada, and was knighted for his gallantry in that great action. In 1591, having been cruising for six months in the neighbourhood of the Azores, in company with four other ships, in the view of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, his little squadron was unexpectedly attacked by a vast force which had sailed from Spain, with secret orders to convoy the treasure. In this unequal combat, of which an exact account is given by Camden, in his life of Elizabeth, the bravery of an English sailor never shone more conspicuously than in the Lord Thomas Howard, who was prevented from devoting himself to certain death only by the prudent disobedience of the master of his ship. He commanded one of the divisions of the fleet in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, as he did again in the following year in a projected attack on the Spanish navy, in its harbours of Ferrol and Corunna, which was afterwards diverted to other objects, and in the end, owing to adverse weather, and perhaps yet more to the jealousy between Essex and Raleigh, proved nearly abortive. In all these services, however, his merit was highly distinguished, and, on his return from the last, Elizabeth gave him the order of the Garter, and about the same time appointed him Constable of the Tower. He had been in the preceding year summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden.

James, before he entered London, received him into the Privy Council; on the twenty-first of July, 1603, advanced him to the dignity of Earl of Suffolk; and soon after appointed him Lord High Chamberlain. It was this nobleman who, in the execution of one of the duties of that office, discovered in the vault under the House of Peers the materials which had been concealed there for the gunpowder treason; and the detection of that plot, so frequently ascribed to the King's superior acuteness, arose, as is proved by one of the Secretary's

letters preserved in Winwood's Memorials, out of the sagacious inferences drawn by the Earl and Secretary Cecil, from Lord Monteagle's mysterious paper. In 1613 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in 1615, as he was again in 1617, nominated one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. On the eleventh of July, 1614, he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of England.

He held that great office scarcely more than four years; for in 1618 he was charged with having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns, deprived of his staff, and committed, together with his Countess, to the Tower. The guilt was chiefly ascribed to the rapacity of that lady, and the Earl was in a great measure acquitted by the public judgment of all but the imprudence of concealing her faults. "The Earl," says Carte, an historian who always took great pains to discover the truth, "was in the general opinion of the world deemed guiltless of any considerable misdemeanor; but his Countess had rendered herself very odious by extorting money from all persons who had any matters to dispatch at the Treasury; Sir John Bingley, the Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, being the chief agent in making her bargains." Wilson, too, a writer never inclined to palliate the faults of James's Court or government, tells us that "the Earl, being a man of a noble disposition, though too indulgent to his too active wife, had retained the King's favour if he had taken Sir Edward Coke's counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence till it was too late, for then his submission did him little good; but, his wife's faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thousand pounds, and imprisonment in the Tower." But the negative evidence in the Treasurer's favour afforded by the total silence on the subject of the arch-libeller of that reign, Sir Anthony Welden, who was the bitter enemy in particular too of the favourite Somerset, (the Earl's son in law) and all his connections, tends perhaps more to lighten the charge against him than either of the direct apologies above cited.

It is clear indeed, from the tardiness and moderation with which the proceedings against the Earl were carried on that very little resentment was entertained against him, either by the King or the public. He was removed from his office of Lord Treasurer on the nineteenth of July, 1618, and immediately retired into the country, where he seems to have remained for more than six months. Between the twentieth and thirtieth of March, in the following year, he was several times examined, and obtained leave to go to his seat of Audley End, but without his lady. It was not till the third of August following that a full enquiry was ordered; and he was not publicly accused in the Starchamber till the twentieth of October. On the thirteenth of November he received his sentence of fine and imprisonment, was committed to the Tower on the twentieth; released, after nine days confinement; and received by James with kindness in the month of January, 1620. I find in the Harleian collection, without dates, two original letters, hitherto I believe unpublished, from this nobleman to the King, which throw a strong light on several circumstances of his case. It appears pretty clearly from the first, which was evidently written at an early stage of the inquiry, that he had not till then entertained any expectation of being brought to trial; and this confidence alone affords no mean inference of his innocence.

GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

In this grevous tyme of my being barred from your presence, which to me ys the greatest affliyction that can lye upon me, and knowing by my former servyse to you the sweet and pryncely noble dysposition that ys in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgment which the world knowes you have, ys the ocasion that I presume at this tyme to lay before your Ma^tie^ my most humble sute, which ys that you wolde be pleased to looke upon the case of your poore servaunt, who, after so many faythfull desyers of mine to do you servyse, (I do not say that success hath fallen out as I wyshed) showld now not only have suffered for my weaknes and errours, but must be further questioned, to my dysgrace. I wolde to God your Ma^tie^ dyd truly understand the thoughts of my hart; and yf ther you could fynd one, the least, of yll affections to you, I wysh yt pulled out of my body.

Now, to add to my meseryes, geve me leave to let your Ma^tie knowe the hard estate I am in, for I do owe at thys present, I dare avow upon my fydelyty to you, lytle less then forty thousand pounds, which I well knowe wyll make me and myne poore and mesarable for ever. All this I do not lay downe to your Ma^tie's best judging eyes that I meane this by way of complaynt; for I do acknowledge the reason your Ma^tie had to do what you did; neither do I goo about to excuse errours to have escapt me; but wyll now and ever acknowledg your gratious favourable dealing with me, yf you wylbe pleased now to receyve me agayne to your favour, after this just correction; without which I desyer not to injoy fortune of any good, or lyfe in this world; which, in the humblest maner that I can, I begg at your pryncely feete, as

Your Ma^tie's humblyest,
and loyall seruaunt and subject,
T. SUFFOLKE.

He put in a plea, which indeed is virtually urged in this letter, of inability to pay his fine; and James, as Carte remarks, "perhaps rather to punish a distrust of his clemency, than with any strong suspicion of deceit, commissioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to inquire into his estate." It has been said, that he had previously conveyed a great part of it to his brother, Sir William Howard, and his son in law, the Earl of Salisbury. It is very unlikely that such a transaction should have escaped discovery by the commissioners; and it is certain that if they did discover it, they abused their trust by concealing it; for the King, after having received their report, mitigated the Earl's fine to seven thousand pounds. A very severe mortification, however, was still reserved for him. The Lord Howard of Walden, his heir, was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and one of his younger sons held a place in the Prince's household. He was called on by the King to induce them by his influence to relinquish their employments, and on that occasion addressed to his Majesty the following earnest expostulation; but James had determined to be obeyed: the young men resigned their appointments, and were presently after replaced in them.

MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAYN,

Your pryncely favour in delevering me and my wyfe out of the Tower, must and shall ever be acknowleged by us with all humble thanks; and now be pleased to geve me leave to be an humble sutor to your Ma^ty, that out of the tender compassion of your pryncely hart, you wylbe pleased to cast your eye upon the meserable estate of your dystressed, afflycted, and owld servant, now brought into feare of recovery of your Ma^tes favour; and, so wretched my case ys as the lytle hope that remayned in me to lyve in your memory was my two sonn's servyse to your gratious self, and the Prynce. Yt is now requyred of me to impose upon them the resygnation of their places, which, wyth all humylytie I beseech you to geve me leave to say, I wolde sooner use my power over them to wyll them to bury themselves quycke, than by any other way than inforcement to geve up ther places of servyse, which onely remayns to me to be either my dying comfort, or my lyving torment. Besydes, they are now past my goverment, being both married, and have children; only I have a paternall care of them, which I most humbly beseech your best-judging Ma^tie respectyvely to way how unhappy I must of necessitye think myselfe yf I showld be the perswader of that mysfortune to my chyldren, that ther chyldren within a few yeares wolde curse me for, ether lyving or dead.

Upon all thes just considerations, most gratious Master, geve me leave to turn my cruell and unnaturall part of perswadyng them to yeld to that for which I should detest myself to my humblyest desyer, upon the knees of my hart to begg humbly of your Ma^tie that whatsoever favor you have ever had to me for any servyse done that your Ma^tie wylbe pleased to spare the ruyn of these two yong men, whom I fynd so honestly dysposed in ther desier of spending ther fortunes and lyves in your Ma^tie's and your pryncely sonn's servyse, as yf your dyspleasure be not fully satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of Buckyngham to be my mediator to your

Ma^tie in this behalfe, which I assure myself he wyll nobly performe, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my meanes to your Ma^tie in obtayning this great begunn favour. To conclude, with my prayer to God that your Ma^tie may ever fynd the same zeale and love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy that my hart's sole affection dyd, and ever shall, cary unto you; which God knowes was and ys more to your Ma^tie then to my wyfe and chyldren, and all other worldly things; which God measure to me acording unto the truth, as Your Ma^tie's humble subject and servaunt,

T. SUFFOLKE.

He was said to lean to what was called the Spanish faction, a charge indeed which was laid indiscriminately against almost all James's ministers and courtiers. Here too the scandalous Welden, whose natural malignity gives to his very forbearance the character of praise, seems inclined to spare him, and to condemn the conduct of the Countess. "The constable of Castile," says he, "so plied his master's business, in which he spared no cost, that he procured a peace so advantageous for Spain, and so disadvantageous for England, that it, and all Christendom, have since both seen and felt the lamentable effect thereof. There was not one courtier of note that tasted not of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them not any in so large a proportion as the Countess of Suffolk; who shared in her Lord's interest, being then a potent man, and in that interest which she had in being mistress to the little great secretary (Cecil) the sole manager of state affairs; so it may be said she was a double sharer; and in truth, Audley End, that great and famous structure, had its foundation in Spanish gold." Welden, when he uttered this last malicious assertion, well knew that the Earl derived his means of building that palace, once the glory of the County of Essex, and still, in its present state of curtailment, a magnificent mansion, from the sale of estates in the North of England, then annually let for ten thousand pounds. The building of Audley End is said to have cost one hundred and ninety thousand.

The Earl of Suffolk died at his house at Charing Cross, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1626, and was buried at Walden, in Essex. His character has been but imperfectly handed down to us: his enemies have found little to censure in his conduct; and his friends have forborne to descant on his merits, probably in the fear of provoking those invectives which may be always so easily cast on the memory of a fallen statesman. His genius and his temper seem to have been such as to qualify him rather for warlike than political service, and he was a great favourite with military men. The author of the "Honorable voyage to Cadiz," published in Hackluyt's collection, says "the Vice-Admiral, Sir Thomas Howard's exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisdome, joyned with such an honorable kind of sweet curtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weaknes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull loving hearts of as many as ever had any maner of dealing with him." He was singularly unfortunate in his wife, and in two of his children; for they were not only culprits of different casts, but their faults were such as made it necessary to expose them by public investigation; and these domestic calamities fell the heavier on him, because he was a most kind father and husband, and because perhaps they might be traced to a monstrous and perverted effect of his own indulgence.

He was twice married, but by his first lady, Mary, daughter and coheir of Thomas, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, he had no children. His second Countess, of whom so much has been said, was Catherine, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, in Wilts, and widow of Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, one of the most celebrated beauties of her time. By her he had a numerous issue; of whom, Theophilus, his heir, who had been, during his father's life, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Howard of Walden, succeeded to the Earldom. Thomas, the second son, inherited the estates of his mother's family in Wiltshire; was created in 1621, Lord Howard of Charlton, and Viscount Andover, and in 1653, when attending Charles the Second in his exile, Earl of Berkshire. From this nobleman all the Earls of Suffolk, &c. since the extinction in 1745 of the male issue of Earl Theophilus, have been descended. The third son, Henry, inherited under the will of his great uncle, Henry, Earl of Northampton, a considerable part of that nobleman's large pro-

perty, and acquired by marriage the estates of the ancient family of Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire. The fourth, fifth, and sixth sons, were Charles, Robert, and William, the two latter of whom were Knights of the Bath; John, the seventh, died young; and Edward, the eighth, and youngest, who was also a Knight of the Bath, was created by Charles the First, Baron Howard of Escrick, in Yorkshire; a lordship which came from his mother, as heir to her uncle, Thomas, Lord Knevit, of Escrick, and which became extinct in his grandson. The Earl of Suffolk's daughters were Elizabeth, wife, first to William Knollys Earl of Banbury, and afterwards to lord Vaux, from which marriages arose the long agitated, and lately decided, question as to the legitimacy of her reputed issue by the first husband: Frances, the frightful circumstances of whose divorce from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and subsequent marriage to Carr, Earl of Somerset, disfigure the history of the reign in which they occurred: and Catherine, married to William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.

Sir Kenelm Digby.

From the original of Vandyke, in the

Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

Drawn by H. Crease, & Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper.

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SIR KENELM DIGBY.

It is a perilous task to attempt to pourtray the character of a universal genius. Sir Kenelm Digby was a scholar, a soldier, a courtier, a divine, a philosopher, an orator, and a politician, and not only his own country, but all Europe, held him in the highest estimation in each of those characters. Exquisite parts, with a most happy temper, produced in him their usual result, a perfect politeness. His very vanity, and he abounded in it, was so well governed, that it gave to all he said, or wrote, or did, a peculiar zest, if I may so express myself, which all relished, while no one could perceive from whence it came. The depth and the quickness of his understanding might have qualified him for the management of the most important affairs, and he was ambitious of public employment, but a certain eccentricity and unsteadiness, perhaps inseparable from a mind of such variety, probably impeded his advancement. Those dispositions in him became too the more exposed to censure because he lived in a time when something like Roman virtue still appeared in the public conduct of men, and a firmness of principle was displayed by two great opposing parties, which, while it shed an additional lustre on loyalty, lent an ornament even to rebellion. With respect to his philosophy, it would be difficult to say whether his succeeding so immediately as he did to the illustrious Bacon might be deemed more fortunate or disadvantageous to him; since, in profiting largely by the discoveries of that sage, he lost, through the carelessness of some, and the malignity of others, the credit of originality. The truth however is, that Digby not only gave form and birth to many of Bacon's mighty conceptions, but that those who may have courage enough to turn for a while from more fashionable systems, will find in his works many inventions which had escaped the observation of his profound predecessor.

The public circumstances of his time perhaps contributed equally with the singularities of his nature to render his life as various as his character. It may be said that their operation commenced when he had scarcely left his cradle, for he was the son and heir of that accomplished gentleman and frantic bigot, Sir Everard Digby, who suffered death in 1606 for his concern in the gunpowder treason. His mother was the daughter, and sole heir, of William Mulsho, of Gothurst, in Buckinghamshire, and her ample fortune, as well as the paternal estates, had fortunately been so firmly settled on the issue of her marriage, that the Court of Wards found itself obliged to adjudge them to the heir male, in spite of a claim made by the Crown under the attainder of the father. Kenelm, concerning the precise date of whose birth there has been some contest, appears to have been born on the eleventh of June, 1603. His mother, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, submitted for obvious reasons, to his being bred at least under Protestant forms, and it is said, that the early part of his education was superintended by the celebrated Laud, at that time Dean of Gloucester. In 1618 he was sent to Oxford, and entered of Gloucester Hall, where the direction of his studies was committed to the care of Mr. Thomas Allen, a man of the highest reputation for ability and erudition, who accepted that charge, not in the ordinary character of a college tutor, but from affection to the family of his pupil, and for the gratification of cultivating a genius which had already shewn abundant signs of pre-eminence. He remained little more than two years at the University, which having quitted with the most brilliant reputation, he set out on the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, from whence he returned in 1623, and on the 23d of October in that year received from King James, at the house of Lord Montague, at Hinchinbroke, the honour of knighthood, so seldom bestowed on one of his years.

On the accession of Charles the First, which occurred soon after, Sir Kenelm Digby became one of the chief ornaments of Whitehall. Charles, who did not love gaiety, highly esteemed him however for his admirable talents; but to the Queen, who, before her misfortunes, had a very lively disposition, he rendered himself infinitely agreeable, and she seems to have conceived a friendship for him which lasted through life. He was a party in all the royal diversions, which indeed he frequently planned and directed, and such were the volatility of his spirits, and the careless elegance of his manners, that it should have seemed that he had been bred from his infancy in a court. He obtained the office of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and was soon after, an odd mixture of employments, appointed a Commissioner of the Navy. In 1628 he was suddenly called from the study and the drawing room to assume the character of a naval commander, and was sent, at the head of a squadron, to chastise the Venetians and Algerines, who had of late infested the English trade in the Mediterranean by their piracies. In this expedition he was completely successful, for, having taken many of the Moorish armed vessels, and liberated the English slaves who were in them, he attacked the Venetian gallies, and totally routed them. These actions, by which he acquired considerable fame of a new character, were fought near Scanderoon, on the 16th of June.

On his return he relapsed into the student; purchased the valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books of his early friend Mr. Allen, of Gloucester Hall, the use of which he allowed to that gentleman while he lived; and soon after his decease, in 1632, nobly gave them to the Bodleian Library. He now applied himself with much earnestness to the study of religious controversy, with the view, as he confesses, to strengthen an inclination which he had formed to abandon the protestant persuasion. He wavered however for four years, but in 1636 finally reconciled himself to the Church of Rome, in spite of the arguments of Archbishop Laud, his correspondence with whom on that subject, full of a charity and moderation which did honour to the hearts of both parties, is still extant. He was at that time in France, where he long remained, employing himself in composing elaborate arguments in defence of his lately adopted faith, which he afterwards put forth, in two publications, under the titles of, "A Conference with a Lady about Choice of Religion," and "Letters between Lord George Digby, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion;" the one in 1638, the other not till 1651. There was an air of candour in thus publishing both sides of a controversy, which, whether it arose from the humility of doubt, or the arrogance of superiority, certainly gained him much credit. The Roman Catholics triumphed, as well they might, on the accession of such a person to their communion; and the Queen, their great patroness, received him on his return to England, with much grace and confidence, and immediately employed him in the management of an affair, his conduct in which, while it increased her esteem for him, rendered him obnoxious to the party which was then aspiring to that ascendancy in Parliament which, unhappily for the country, it soon after gained. The King, with a very scanty purse, was preparing for a war with the Scots, and had called on his subjects for such aid as they might be willing to lend him. The wealthiest of the protestant clergy and laity had contributed liberally, and the Queen, anxious that those of her religion should imitate the example, engaged Sir Kenelm, and Mr. Walter Montague, to compose a kind of circular letter to excite them, which was dispersed throughout the kingdom, and procured considerable sums. The House of Commons resented this proceeding, and in January, 1640, Sir Kenelm was called to the bar, and questioned on it. He is said to have answered with simplicity and candour, and the Queen herself having sent an explanatory message to the House, it seemed, for the time, to be satisfied: but the offence was not forgotten, for in the address which was sometime after presented, requiring the King to remove the Roman Catholics from his presence and his Court, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Walter Montague, were particularly named.

His conduct, indeed, in that affair had subjected him to a lasting suspicion. On the breaking out of the grand rebellion, which soon followed, he was imprisoned, by order of the Parliament, in Winchester House, from whence he was released, in the Autumn of 1643, at the instance of the Queen Dowager of France, on condition that he should transport himself

forthwith to France. On this occasion he subscribed a declaration, more prudent than honest, in which he promised, " on the faith of a christian, and the word of a gentleman," neither directly nor indirectly, to negociate, promote, consent unto, or conceal, any practice or design prejudicial to the honour or safety of the Parliament. Before his departure, however, he was strictly examined before a committee, as to an alledged correspondence between Archbishop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly on the question whether a Cardinal's hat had been offered by the Pope to that Prelate, which, with many other rumours equally absurd and incredible, had been invented in the House to inflame the minds of the people. His pen had not been unemployed during his confinement: We have two pieces written by him in Winchester House; the one intituled " Observations on *Religio Medici*, occasionally written by Sir K. D. Knt." This small piece, printed in 1643, and addressed to his great friend, Edward, Earl of Dorset, is said to have been written in one night, an assertion which seems to be contradicted by the word " occasionally" in the title. The other, though hastily composed, is a little work of deep reflection; " Observations on the twenty-second stanza, in the ninth canto of the second book of Spenser's Fairy Queen," in a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, published in 1644.

He was received in France even with rapture. The extent of his natural talents and his learning, and the gay variety of his conversation, captivated a people equally ingenious and volatile. He passed a considerable part of his time in the Court, where he was a great favourite with the Queen Dowager, as well as in the most refined private societies of Paris; and then, as seems to have been his custom, suddenly withdrew himself wholly to his studies. He now digested and reduced to order the particulars of a philosophical system on which he had long speculated, and which he published at Paris in 1644, in two parts, under the titles of " a Treatise of the Nature of Bodies," and " a Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of reasonable Souls is evinced." This, which may be esteemed, in every point of consideration, as his greatest work, exalted his reputation to the utmost, and the feeble attacks made on it by Alexander Ross, and by some writers on the continent, served but to increase the number of its students, both at home and abroad. He wrote also, soon after, in Latin, " Five Books of Peripatetic Institutions, with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World," which were not printed till 1651.

The final subversion of Monarchy in England called him home. He had lost his eldest son in the faint struggle made by the Earl of Holland on the part of the King, and had otherwise partaken largely in the misfortunes of that sad period. He was scarcely allowed time to manage a composition for his estate, which, however, as we shall see presently, was not the sole object of his journey, when the Parliament ordered him to withdraw, and forbade him to return, without leave of the House, under pain of death. He fled once more into France, where he joined the little Court of Henrietta Maria, who had lately appointed him her Chancellor, and by whom, not long after his arrival, he was sent as her Envoy to Pope Innocent the Tenth. He is said to have disgusted the pontiff by the unreasonable haughtiness and freedom of his behaviour, a charge ill suited to the general character of his temper and breeding. " At first," says Aubrey, in some curious notices of Sir Kenelm, from which I shall have occasion to make larger extracts, " he was mightily admired; but after some time he grew high, and hectored at his Holiness, and gave him the lie. The Pope said he was mad." Wood, who gives nearly the same account, adds, what may be feared was the true occasion of his quarrel with the Pope, that, " having made a collection of money for the afflicted Catholics in England, he was found to be no faithful steward in that matter."

Cromwell, having crushed the Long Parliament, and assumed the sovereign power, Sir Kenelm returned to England, and to the great surprise and regret of all parties, seemed presently to acquire some degree of intimacy, and even favour, with the usurper. Time has unveiled the mystery of this seemingly unnatural connection. The publication of the Duke of Ormond's papers has proved that, even from the hour of the death of Charles, Digby had meditated the restoration of his own religion in England, by joining the Roman Catholics and the King's murderers in one common cause. Lord Byron, in a letter to the

Marquis of Ormond, of the first of March, 1649, from Caen, in Normandy, says, " Sir Kenelm Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson, an Independent, who hath brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England, to join the interests of all the English Papists with that bloody party that murdered the King, in the opposition and extirpation of monarchial government; or if that government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession, as formerly provided; that a free exercise of the Romish religion be granted, and of all other religions whatsoever, excepting that which was established by law in the Church of England," &c. And a letter in the same collection from a Dr. Winstead, a physican at Rouen, to Secretary Nicholas, of a date somewhat earlier, after reciting a long conversation between himself and Sir Kenelm, when the latter was about to embark, concludes—" The plot, as I am told, about which Sir Kenelm Digby is employed as agent to treat with those horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is for the subversion of successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions there, except that of the Church of England according to the practice thereof." Here then we find the cause of the severity of the Long Parliament towards Digby, when he visited England for the alledged purpose of compounding for his estates, as well as the motive to the grace with which he was now received by Cromwell, to whom doubtless he came to reiterate the same proposals, perhaps somewhat modified with regard to hereditary succession. That Cromwell should have sought to fortify his dominion by gaining over the English Catholics, adds nothing to the weight of crime and infamy which loads his memory; but for the treachery thus imputed to Digby, the most fervid affection to his religious faith which we could ascribe to him would furnish no extenuation; and, however painful it may be to believe the story, it is scarcely possible to doubt the truth of it.

Having remained in England for a considerable time, he went again to the continent in 1656, and travelled through France and Germany, fixing his residence occasionally for long intervals in different cities, and collecting and bestowing treasure in every branch of science. Amidst these refined pursuits, however, he found time to correspond with Secretary Thurloe, with professions, on his part, of the firmest attachment to the person and government of Cromwell; after whose death, and during the rapid dissolution of the system which he had framed, Digby returned to Paris to await the event. Immediately after the restoration, he came to London, and, though the King and his ministers were well apprised of the intrigues which have lately been mentioned, was received at Court, at least, with great complaisance. It would have been surprizing indeed had he been treated with confidence.

In composing this memoir, I have purposely omitted many small circumstances of Sir Kenelm's story, for the sake of giving them in the dress in which they appear in a late very choice publication of papers in the Bodleian and Ashmolean libraries, which closes with a collection of biographical memorandums, loosely strung together under the several heads to which they belong, by the pen of the singular John Aubrey. Those who read biography with a true taste and feeling, well know how much the life and freshness of such unstudied notices fade in being reduced even to the best form of regular narrative.

" Sir Kenelm Digby," says Aubrey, " was a great traveller, and understood ten or twelve languages. He was not only master of a good and graceful judicious style, but he also wrote a delicate hand, both fast hand, and Roman."

" He was such a goodly handsome person, and had so graceful elocution, and noble address, that had he been dropt out of the clouds in any part of the world he would have made himself respected; but the Jesuits spake spitefully, and said 'twas true, but then he must not stay there above six weeks. He was well versed in all kinds of learning: and he had also this virtue; that no man knew better how to abound, and to be abased, and either was indifferent to him: No man became grandeur better; sometimes again he would live only with a lackey, and horse with a footcloth. He was very generous and liberal to deserving persons."

" Much against his mother's, &c. consent, he married that celebrated beauty, and courtesan, Mrs. Venetia Stanley, whom Richard, Earl of Dorset kept as his concubine, had

children by her, and settled on her an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum, which, after Sir K. D. married, was unpaid by the Earl. Sir Kenelm sued the Earl, after marriage, and recovered it. He would say that a handsome lusty man, that was discreet, might make a virtuous wife out of a brothel house. This lady carried herself blamelessly, yet they say he was jealous of her. She died in her bed suddenly; some suspected that she was poisoned. When her head was opened there was found but little brain, which her husband imputed to her drinking of viper wine; but spiteful women would say that it was a viper husband, who was jealous of her. Once a year the Earl of Dorset invited her and Sir Kenelm to dinner, where the Earl would behold her with much passion, and only kiss her hand. After her death, to avoid envy and scandal, he retired into Gresham College, at London, where he diverted himself with his chemistry, and the professor's good conversation. He wore there a long mourning cloak; a high cornered hat; his beard unshorn; looked like an hermit; as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife, to whose memory he erected a sumptuous monument, now quite destroyed by the great conflagration. He was a person of extraordinary strength. I remember one at Sherbourne, relating to the Earl of Bristol, protested to us that as he, being a middling man, being set in a chair, Sir Kenelme took him up, chair and all, with one arm. He was of an undaunted courage, yet not apt in the least to give offence. His conversation was both ingenious and innocent."

"There is in print, in French, and also in English, translated by Mr. James Howell, a speech that he made at a philosophical assembly at Montpelier, 165.. of the sympathetique powder. He made a speech at the beginning of the meeting of the Royal Society, of the vegetation of plants. He was born to three thousand pounds per annum. His ancient seat, I think, is Gotehurst, in Buckinghamshire. He had a fair estate also in Rutlandshire. What by reason of the civil wars, and his generous mind, he contracted great debts; and, I know not how, there being a great falling out between him and his then only son, John, he settled his estate upon Cornwalleys, a subtle solicitor, and also a member of the House of Commons, who did put Mr. John Digby to much charge in law. Sir John Hoskyns informs me that Sir Kenelm Digby did translate Petronius Arbiter into English," &c. &c.

Sir Kenelm Digby survived the restoration about five years, which he passed rather in the enjoyment than in the active prosecution of science. He lived entirely in London, and established in his house, in Covent Garden, those literary assemblies to which he had been accustomed in France, and which he seems first to have introduced in this country. He had been for several years afflicted by the stone, and in the autumn and winter of 1664 his attacks of that cruel disease so frequently recurred as to reduce him to a state of extreme weakness. He was preparing however for one more visit to Paris, when a most violent paroxysm carried him off on his birthday, the eleventh of June, in the following year. He was buried in Christ-Church within Newgate, where, several years before his death, he had erected a superb monument in memory of his wife. By the unbridled frailties of that lady, the Earl of Dorset having been but one of many favoured lovers, much of the noblest blood of England was dishonoured, for she was the daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, Knight of the Bath, grandson of the great Edward, Earl of Derby, by Lucy, daughter and coheir of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Sir Kenelm left by her an only child, John Digby, who certainly inherited, though under many disadvantages and vexations, the most part of his father's estates. In him the male line of his branch of the Digbies became extinct, for he had by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in Bucks, two daughters only; Margaret Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey, in Flintshire, and Charlotte Theophila, to Richard Mostyn, of Penbeddw, in the same county.

In addition to the works which have already been mentioned, several small tracts have been published under the name of Sir Kenelm Digby.—A discourse delivered before the Royal Society on the Vegetation of Plants.—Choice Receipts in Physic and Chirurgery.—Cordial and distilled Water and Spirits, Perfumes, and other Curiosities.—His Closet opened, wherein is dicovered several ways of making Wines.—Excellent Directions for Cookery.—Choice Collection of rare chemical Secrets," &c. But there is reason to suspect that all these, except the first, were the gleanings of his laboratory, put together, and published after his death, by the servant who assisted him in his philosophical experiments.

Queen Jane Seymour.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Bond.

London, Published by Lackington, Allen & Co.ª and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

The history of a young woman suddenly elevated from a private station to a throne from which she was snatched by a premature death when she had graced it for little more than a single year cannot reasonably be expected to contain many circumstances worthy of notice. Wife of one King, and mother of another, we find little else remarkable in the life of Jane Seymour, except that she became the accidental and inactive instrument of raising her family, already of great antiquity, to the highest degree of rank and power that could be conferred on subjects.

She was the eldest of the four daughters of Sir John Seymour, of Wolfe Hall, in Wiltshire, Knight, Groom of the Chamber to Henry the Eighth, and Governor of the Castle of Bristol, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. Her connections and accomplishments procured for her the office of a Maid of Honour to Anne Boleyn, and her beauty made her the innocent cause of her mistress's ruin. Henry conceived a sudden passion for her, and became disgusted with Anne. Equally a stranger to sensibility and to morals, his attachment to her soon became irresistible, and his aversion to the Queen increased to a degree of dislike little short of hatred. He determined to make Jane his wife; and the gratification of his desire was easy to one who was above the ties of law, and to whom those of conscience were unknown. The unhappy Anne was accused of adultery, and put to death, and the unfeeling widower, on the very day, or, according to some, on the third day, after her execution, profaned the altar by pledging his vows to Jane Seymour. This union, according to all our historians, took place in the last week of May, 1536; and on the eighth of the following month the parliament passed an act to settle the Crown on its issue, either male or female, in exclusion of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. The issue of Jane, at least, was first named; but, such was the abject submission of that body to Henry's pleasure, that the same act in the conclusion gave him full power to name whomsoever he might think fit for his successor.

About fifteen months after her marriage Queen Jane was delivered of a son, the admirable Edward the Sixth. The variance and confusion of historical reports as to the date of the birth of that Prince are very strange. All agree that it happened in 1537; but Hayward fixes it to the seventeenth of October, Sanders to the tenth, and most others, rightly, as we shall see presently, to the twelfth, of that month. The following letter, from the Harleian Collection, which was doubtless circular, to Sheriffs of Counties, &c. would furnish, if it were wanted, an additional authority for the last of these dates, as it may be reasonably presumed to have been written as soon as possible after the birth of the child.

By the Quene.

"Trustie and welbeloved, wee grete you well; and, forasmuche as by the inestimable goodnes and grace of Almighty God we be delivered and brought in childbed of a Prince, conceived in most lawfull matrimonie betweene my Lord the King's Majestie and us; doubtinge not but, for the love and affection which ye beare unto us, and to the comonwealth of this realme, the knowledge thereof should be joyous and glad tydeings unto you, we have thought good to certifie you of the same, to th'entent you might not onely render unto God condigne thanks and praise for soe greate a benefit, but alsoe pray for the longe continuance

and preservac'on of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my Lord the Kinge and us, and the universall weale, quiett, and tranquillitie of this hole realm.

Given under our Signet, att my Lord's Mannor of Hampton Court, the xii.th day of October."

To our trusty and welbeloved
George Boothe, Esquier.

The joy excited by this event was soon abated by the death of the Queen. It has been said that it was found necessary to bring the infant into the world by that terrible method called the Cæsarian operation; and Sir John Hayward, who in composing his life of Edward the Sixth undoubtedly sought the truth with all possible industry, positively states the fact. Other writers, but I know not on what ground, have treated that report as an idle tale, invented by the papists, in malice to Henry. It is true that Sanders, one of the most bitter writers on that side, tells us that the physicians were of opinion that either the mother or the child must perish; that they put the question to the King, which should be spared, the Queen or his son? and that he answered, his son, because he could easily find other wives. The latter part of this reply has certainly very much of the air of a malicious invention, for Henry, amidst all his crimes, was an accomplished gentleman; but, whether the anecdote be true or false, it does not clear up the point in question. A very short report to the Privy Council of the birth of the Prince, by her physicians, is extant, in which they state that the Queen had been *happily* delivered, and it has been argued therefrom that the birth could not have been attended by any peculiarly melancholy circumstance; but the word "happily" may perhaps be more properly referred to the production of a living child, a first born son, and heir to the Crown, than to the state of the mother. Whatsoever may tend to correctness as to such a fact cannot, historically speaking, be deemed insignificant; I trust therefore to be excused for having been somewhat minute on a disagreeable subject.

The date of the Queen's death, as well as that of the birth of the Prince, has been variously stated. Most of our historians fix it to the fourteenth of October, following probably Lord Herbert, who says that she was delivered on the twelfth, and departed two days after; but the official record in the College of Arms of the ceremonies of her funeral informs us clearly on both points; for the title, or preamble, of it is in these words; "An ordre taken and made for the enterrement of the most high, most excellent, and most Christen Pryncess, Jane, Quene of England and of Fraunce, Lady of Ireland, and mother to the most noble and puyssant Prynce Edward; which deceasyd at Hampton Courte, the xxix.th yere of the reigne of our most dread Soveraigne Lord Kyng Henry the eight, her most dearest husband, the xxiiii.th day of Octobre, beyng Wedynsday, at nyght, xii of the clock; which departyng was the twelf day after the byrthe of the said Prynce, her Grace beyng in childbed. Whose departyng was as hevy as hath ben hard of many a yere heretofore, for she was a very gracious Lady, havyng the love of all people." This document, which is of great length, informs us that she was buried at Windsor, with the utmost pomp. Among much curious information, it discloses two very remarkable facts—that all the various devout services which were performed daily for nearly a month before the funeral, as well as on the day itself, were strictly after the order of the Romish ritual; and that the lately degraded and disinherited Princess Mary officiated as chief mourner.

Cardinal Allen.

From the original picture, in the possession of

Browne Mostyn Esq.re

Drawn by W. Haines & Engraved with Permission by S. Freeman.

London Published by Lackington Allen & Co.s and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

WILLIAM ALLEN,

CARDINAL.

THE face and the character of this remarkable person have hitherto been almost equally unknown. While he lived, and for several years after his death, to have possessed his portrait might have been deemed misprision of treason, and to have spoken favourably even of the slightest act of his life would certainly have been considered as a high misdemeanour. He was perhaps the most formidable enemy to the reformed faith, and the ablest apologist for the Romish church, that England ever produced, for he was armed at all points, either for attack or defence, and indefatigable in the prosecution of each. He was generally learned, but insacred and ecclesiastical history profoundly; and while he reasoned with equal acuteness, boldness, and eloquence, used that urbanity of expression, so uncommon in the polemics of his time, which polishes, while it sharpens, the weapons of argument, and disarms an adversary, at least, of personal enmity. He exercised in fact, though without the name, the office of vicegerent to the Pope for the affairs of his church in England; and in that character opposed, with a most honest zeal, the progress of a system which the most part of Europe then considered as a frightful schism, and which was at that time indebted for its support perhaps more to the vigilance and severity of Elizabeth's government than to the affection of its professors. But that system had already become firmly interwoven with the civil polity of England, and the most dangerous enemy to a state is he who would wound it through the shield of its religious establishment. Elizabeth, therefore, would have acted but with strict justice had she put Cardinal Allen to death, as she certainly would, could she have got him into her power; and he would have been, as justly, canonized.

He descended from two respectable, and rather ancient, families, for he was the second son of John Allen, the elder line of whose house had been long seated at Brockhouse, in Staffordshire, by Jennet, daughter of a Lyster, of Westby, in Yorkshire. He was born at Rossall, in the latter county, about the year 1532, and became a student of Oriel College in 1547, where he was so distinguished for his talents, and for the rapidity and success of his studies, that he was within three years after unanimously elected a fellow of that house, and before he had reached the age of twenty-five was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and one of the Proctors of the University. About 1558 he was appointed a Canon of York, but was scarcely fixed there when the death of Queen Mary blasted all his hopes of further preferment in his own country. He continued, however, in England till 1560, when he retired to Louvain, and fixed his residence for a time in the famous theological college there, which, since the accession of Elizabeth, had become the favourite place of refuge for those of the English Catholic divines who had the highest reputation for learning and zeal. But the passive devotions of a mere pious asylum were ill suited to the disposition of one who seemed to exist but for the service of his church: He returned, under the pretence of seeking relief in his native air from a lingering illness, and settled in Lancashire, where his endeavours to reclaim the wanderers from his profession became soon so notorious that the magistrates chased him from that county. He went then into Oxfordshire, where he not only followed the same course, but published treatises in the English language, which he had printed at Louvain,—"In Defence of the lawful Power and Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins;" "Of the Confession of Sins to God's Ministers;" and a third, intituled, "The Church's Meaning concerning Indulgences, commonly called Pope's Pardons." Such a visitor could not long be permitted to remain near the University. He removed, doubtless under compulsion, into

the neighbourhood of Norwich, where he dwelt chiefly in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, and, having composed there a strenuous defence of his church, under the title of "Certain brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith," returned once more to Oxford, and boldly took up his residence there. His attempts, though with unabated zeal, were now more secretly practised. He ceased to publish his opinions, and contented himself with endeavouring to gain individual proselytes by the acuteness of his arguments, and the charms of his conversation, An experiment of that kind, in which he had fully succeeded, drew down on him the vehement resentment of the relations of his convert, who happened to be zealous reformers. They prosecuted him with the utmost vengeance; he found means to escape from the consequences; and quitted England, never again to return.

He fled to Flanders, and, after having resided for some time in a monastery in the city of Mechlin, removed about 1568 to Douay, where an academy had been some years before established, which had acquired considerable reputation. On that foundation he raised the college which after many vicissitudes yet subsisted there in much fame at the commencement of the accursed French revolution, when its peaceful inmates were dispersed, and it became first a military hospital, and, since, a manufactory. To this seminary, which was declaredly devoted to the reception of learned English Romanists who had fled their country for religion's sake, he gave a regular collegiate form, and procured from the Pope a yearly stipend for its maintenance. He was now appointed a Canon of the archiepiscopal church of Cambray, and, soon after, of that of Rheims, in France, where he prevailed on the great family of Guise to erect another college for the same purpose, to which he removed the members of his house at Douay, during the distraction which for a time agitated the Netherlands. He commenced also a similar foundation at Rome, and two in Spain. All these were devoted to the education of English youth, and every sort of learning was cultivated in them to the utmost perfection of the time; but the grand and secret object of the teachers was to instruct their pupils in the religious and civil doctrines of the church of Rome; to inspire them with the most zealous and implicit veneration towards all its institutions; and so to qualify them to become, when they should return to their own country, the most effectual of all missionaries.

In spite of the personal application and activity which these objects necessarily required, it should seem that his pen too was almost incessantly employed, as well in a continual correspondence with his friends and abettors in England, as in the composition of multifarious publications which he disseminated throughout Europe with the utmost industry. Elizabeth, who held her brother sovereigns and their councils in contempt, was awed by the talents, the perseverance, and, perhaps most of all, by the sincerity of this man. He fought against her, or, in other words, against that system of faith of which she was then the life and soul, as well in the field as in the closet; for, while he opposed himself, with exquisite power of argument, to her most eminent divines, and used the sweetest persuasion to those whom he hoped to convert, the catholic soldiers and mariners of England, as well as those of Spain, went into battle with treatises in their hands which he had written for their use, and adapted to their capacities. Thus he prevailed on Sir William Stanley, and Rowland York, who commanded a body of thirteen hundred men in the low countries, to surrender to the Spaniards in 1587 the strong fortress of Deventer, and other places, with their garrisons, and, immediately after printed a letter intituled, "Epistola de Deventriæ ditione," together with a translation into English, in which he highly commended their treachery, and incited others to imitate it. So too, in the following year, upon the sailing of the Spanish Armada, he published "A Declaration of the sentence of Sixtus the Fifth," by which that Pope had given plenary indulgence, and pardon of all sins, to those who would assist in depriving Elizabeth of her kingdom; to which was added a supplement, most energetically conceived and written, with the title of "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England." Elizabeth herself bore testimony to the weight and importance of this book by dispatching a minister to the Prince of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries for the king of Spain, especially to expostulate with him on the publication of it.

For these eminent services to his church, he was at length on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, created a Cardinal Priest, and in 1589, consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin, to which

latter dignity the King of Spain added the gift of a rich abbey in Naples. The utter failure of the great Spanish naval expedition, on which the Roman Catholics had founded such mighty hopes, seems to have broken his spirit. He retired to Rome immediately after that event, "under a great disappointment," says Camden, "and at length tired out with the heats and dissensions of the English fugitives, both scholars and gentlemen." That historian, zealous as he was for the reformed faith, and writing under the influence almost naturally produced by his servitude to Elizabeth, speaks of Allen with less asperity than might have been expected; while Anthony Wood, more independent, though perhaps not unjustly suspected of some leaning to the Romish church, having very fairly stated the invectives of several authors against him, adds—"Let writers say what they please, certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence: that he was religious, and zealous in his profession: restless till he had performed what he had undertaken: that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." His taste in literary composition was admirable. Of his Latin little need be said. The age in which he lived was ornamented by many distinguished writers in that language, and it would have been strange indeed had not such a man appeared in the foremost rank: but his English style was incomparable. At once dignified and simple; clear and concise; choice in terms, without the slightest affectation; and full of an impassioned liveliness which rivetted the attention even to his gravest disquisitions; it stood then wholly unrivalled, and would even now furnish no unworthy model. Such however is the weakness, and it is almost blameless, of human prejudice, that the merits of the writer were condemned to share in the abomination of his doctrines, and that an example which might have anticipated the gradual progress of nearly a century in the improvement of English prose was rejected, because he who set it was a rebel and a Papist.

Cardinal Allen wrote, in addition to the works already mentioned, "A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholics concerning Purgatory, 1565;" "An Apology, and true Declaration, of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges in Rome, and at Rheims, 1581;" "Apologia pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu, et Seminariorum alumnis contra Edicta Regiæ," which I have never seen, and of which the book mentioned before it was probably a translation; "Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ;" and "Piissima Admonitio et Consolatio verè Christiana ad afflictos Catholicos Angliæ;" the three last named tracts printed in one volume, 1583; and "A true, sincere, and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad, against a scandalous Libel, intituled the Execution of Justice in England," without date, of which a translation into Latin was published in 1584.

This very eminent person died at Rome on the 6th of October, 1594, and was buried in the chapel of the English College there.

Henry, Prince of Wales.

From the original of Mytens in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Dorset

Drawn by W. Haines. & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Holl.

London, Published by Lackington, Allen & Co.ª and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

An attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue; together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action: It is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, intitled, "The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales;" which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call "a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head."

Henry was born in Sterling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother, who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alledged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilized country and court, incessantly under the controul and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chace which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered "yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieves and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping

than that which the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy; while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his intire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common-place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact," (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant Speeches") in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from pursuing the point; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly: Indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing: the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundred of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties; and he was so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it,

for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that "he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him;" and adds that "he sometimes walked fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. "He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, "to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armies; in building and gardening; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in sculpture, limning and carving; and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that "he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that "he had a certain height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets."

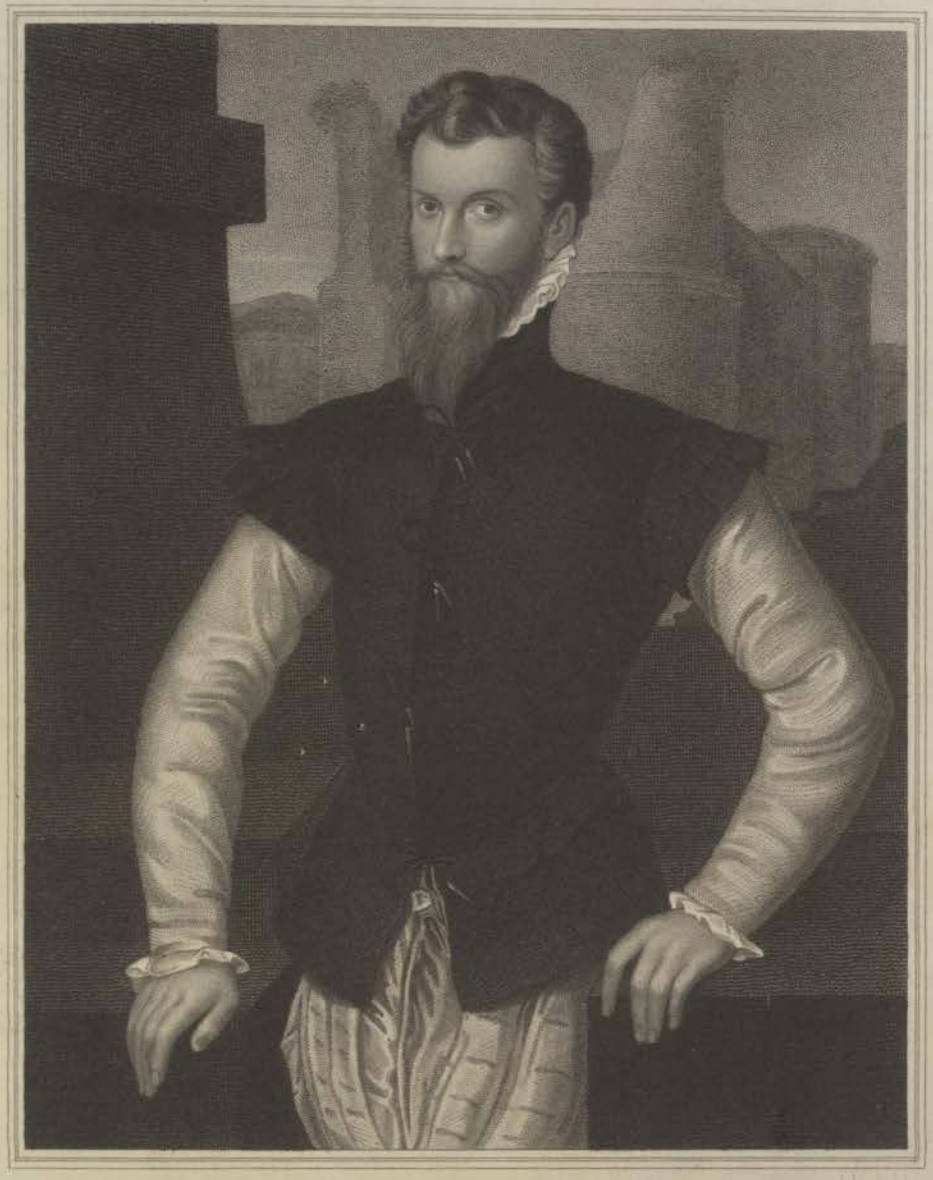
His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of over confidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and, for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exton, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, "having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue." Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct, which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a war-like inclination; and the strictness of his moral and religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans, to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him

with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his oeconomy, and the severity, as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before: he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit, to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indispositions, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name should be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, "desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." "This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, "the Prince found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his sickness he had not found himself so well; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion; missing his former cruel doublings; and his former accidents being less, and more mild:" yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium, and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the Sages, as Cornwallis informs us, "had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity." A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman's narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. "He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste; of an amiable majestic countenance; his hair of an auborn colour; long faced, and broad forehead; a piercing grave eye; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown."



Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

From the original, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by S. Freeman.

London, Published by Lackington, Allen & Co. and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

EDWARD COURTENAY,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

We view the circumstances of this Nobleman's short life through the mists of fear and prejudice. An unhappy fatality, as it might seem, had connected him, even from the hour of his birth, with the highest public considerations, in a time peculiarly marked by cruelty and suspicion. Many who knew the truth of his story, and might have been inclined to tell it with fidelity, shrunk probably with terror from so hazardous a disclosure, and remained nearly silent. Of those who have touched on it more at large, some seem to have been confined by party spirit, and others by an authority not unwelcome to their religious and political bigotry, to the relation of a few facts which tend rather to excite curiosity than to afford information. Even from them, however, we are enabled to infer with accuracy that he was accomplished, innocent, and miserable.

His misfortunes originated solely in his illustrious descent. His father, Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devonshire of his family, whose mother was the Princess Catherine, daughter of King Edward the fourth, had been one of the ephemeral favourites of Henry VIII. who, having advanced him to the title of Marquis of Exeter, caused him a few years after, to be accused of high treason, in having corresponded by letter with his banished kinsman, Cardinal Pole; convicted without proof, and beheaded. His mother, Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Montjoy, was in the following year, by a monstrous perversion of law, attainted without trial, but her life was spared. Edward, their only son, the subject of this Memoir, was born about the year 1526, and, immediately after the death of his father, though then only twelve years of age, was committed to the Tower, "lest he should raise commotions," says the author of the History of the Courtenay Family, "by revenging his father's quarrel." Thus dreadfully do injustice and fear ever attend and aggravate each other. He remained there, painful to relate, a close prisoner, for fifteen years. The clemency usually ascribed to the reign of Edward VI. which indeed owes the reputation of mildness and justice merely to a comparison with the deeper horrors of that which preceded it, afforded him no relief. He was even one of the six persons who were specially excepted from the general pardon granted at Edward's coronation. Mary, however, immediately after her accession visited his prison, where this unfortunate young man, together with the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and the Duchess of Somerset, presented themselves to her on their knees upon Tower Hill, when she kindly raised and kissed them, saying "these be my prisoners;" and on the third of September, 1558, exactly one month afterwards, restored to him the Earldom of Devonshire, by a new patent of creation, together with such of his father's great estates as had not yet been granted away by the Crown. Prince, in his "Worthies of Devon," and some others, add that the dignity of Marquis of Exeter was also at the same time revived in him, but this is an error.

Mary's benignity towards him has been so generally ascribed by historians to a personal affection that the fact can scarcely be doubted. Fuller, whose words I quote for the sake of conciseness, and who ought never to be quoted unless his account be supported, as it is in great measure in this instance, by the testimony of more cautious writers, tells us, in his "Holy State," that "this most noble young Earl was a person of lovely aspect; of a beautiful body, sweet nature, and royal descent: all which concurring in him, the Queen cast an obliging countenance upon him, and, as it was generally conceived, intended him an husband for herself; of which report hath handed down unto us this confirmation: that when

the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband; and, urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed herself out unto him as plainly as might consist with the modesty of a maiden, and the majesty of a Queen." Others, with much improbability, add that he was one of the persons recommended to her by her Privy Council among whom to chuse a husband. Bishop Godwyn, a historian of deserved credit, and who was then in existence, says, according to Kennett's translation, that "there were three at that time allotted by common fame for her choice; Philip, Prince of Spain; Cardinal Reginald Pole; and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter," (for so the Bishop always styles him). "The two latter had their country, and the splendor of their ancestors, to recommend them; and there were hopes that under either of them the liberty and privileges of the kingdom would be preserved. Affinity of blood was respected in them all. Pole was much in the Queen's affection for his gravity and holy life, joined with the greatest courtesy and prudence; and Courtenay for his youth, good humour, and his courtly address; but some suspicions were raised against the latter as if he favoured the reformation."

The correctness of the report that he had made a tender impression on the heart of Mary is here rather favoured than opposed. Those who have delivered it down to us add, that he treated her advances with indifference, because he was warmly attached to her sister Elizabeth. Burnet seems to have believed the whole, for he says, in the History of the Reformation, "The new Earl of Devonshire was much in her favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the Lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them both into trouble." Sir Thomas Wyat, on the contrary, when he was taken prisoner, accused the Earl of having engaged in his conspiracy, in resentment of the Queen's having refused to take him for her husband; and of a consequent design to depose her, and obtain the throne by marrying Elizabeth; and upon this charge both the Princess and the Earl were committed to the same prison from which he had been only six months before released. Wyat, however, when he was led to execution, confessed that he had invented it in the hope of saving his life, and intreated that he might be conducted to the apartment of the Earl of Devonshire, which being permitted, he besought the Earl, on his knees, to pardon the wicked slander which he had falsely uttered. Several respectable writers, following Fox, whose partiality is seldom considered with sufficient caution, say that Gardiner, in his malice to Elizabeth, contrived this interview, and then reported to the Council that Wyat had solicited it for the purpose of exhorting the Earl to confess his guilt, and that of the Princess. But Wyat, on the scaffold, (and here I will use not only Fox's words, but his authority, for he durst not have stated falsely what had been so lately proclaimed in the hearing perhaps of thousands,) told the people, "Whereas it is noised abroad that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I will assure you that neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold, were privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the Queen and Council, and it is most true."

The Earl was detained in the Tower till the twenty-fifth of May, 1554, when he was removed in the night to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire, and there still kept in close imprisonment till the spring of the following year; when Philip, to gain popularity among his new subjects, for the view which we have of his character allows no hope of a better motive, procured the enlargement of the Earl, as well as of the Princess, who was at that time confined in the royal house of Woodstock. The miserable Courtenay, conscious that he should ever remain an object of suspicion, made the first use of that liberty which he had so little known to implore the Queen's permission to quit England; which having obtained, he travelled through France and Italy, and at length determined to sit down at Padua, in the fruitless hope of passing there in quiet the remainder of a life which had hitherto been distinguished by the most undeserved and unexampled persecution. Within a few weeks however after his arrival, he was seized by a distemper which, within fourteen days from its first

appearance, carried him off, on the fourth of October, 1556, not without strong, and probably well founded, suspicion of poison, administered at the instigation of emissaries from the land which had given him his ill-fated birth. He was buried in the Church of St. Anthony, in Padua, where a superb monument remains, or lately remained, to his memory, with the following uncouth inscription, which I insert because it affords, from a somewhat singular source, a corroboration of some of the most important circumstances of a story involved in much uncertainty, and frequently disfigured by wilful misrepresentation.

" Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum,
Corteneum celsa hæc continet arca Ducem.
Credita causa necis Regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum tunc quoque connubium;
Cui regni proceres non consensere, Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit juveni peragrare necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto
Nil mirum; domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Cortenius cælo, fruiturque beatis:
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.
Cortenei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit hoc Templum vivida semper erunt.
Anglia hinc etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni,
Conjugii optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo juvenes, præcipitatque senes."

The elder male line of the great House of Courtenay became extinct by the death of this young nobleman, and the remains, still considerable, of its vast estates fell by inheritance to the heirs of the four sisters of his great grandfather, who had married into the ancient western families of Tretherf, Arundel of Talverne, Mohun, and Trelawny.

Anne Clifford, Countels of Dorset Pembroke & Montgomery.

From the original of Mytens, in the Poſſeſſion of

His Grace, The Duke of Dorset.

Drawn by W. Haines, & Engraved, with Permiſſion, by E. Scriven.

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ANNE CLIFFORD,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

In an age the fashion of which was to confine the minds of women of high birth to the study of school divinity and morality, of the most simple domestic duties, and of a few wretched social forms, which supplied the place of politeness without bearing any resemblance to it; to the gloomy habits of implicit obedience to one, and of absolute rule over many; and to an intercourse only with those of their own rank, in whom, if they were at all disposed to observation, they could but retrace their own imperfect qualifications; we are agreeably surprized at meeting occasionally with one of those rare spirits in which a vigour of natural character opposed itself to the taste, if I may so call it, of a nation, and struggled, with whatever success, to loosen the shackles which had been imposed on it by a declining barbarism: such a one had Anne, Countess of Pembroke.

She was the only surviving child, and at length sole heir, of the gallant and eccentric George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, of whom some account will be found elsewhere in this work, by Margaret, third daughter of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, and was born at her father's seat of Skipton-Castle, in Yorkshire, on the thirtieth of January, 1589. Unhappy dissentions subsisted between her parents, and they were separated in her childhood; but it was her good fortune to be left to the care of her mother, a woman of equal prudence and probity, by whom the charge of the more important part of her education was entrusted to Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days. From him she acquired a taste for history and poetry, and a fondness for literary composition, which she indulged to a great extent, without publishing, or intending to publish, the fruits of her application. She fell therefore into the common faults of those who write for their own closets, and we find her pen generally careless, often trifling and tedious, and always egotistical; yet in this unpromising mixture we meet frequently with proofs of original genius, and solid intellect, and with scattered examples of the purest and most graceful style of her time. Her chief work is a summary of the circumstances of her own life, which I mention thus early because from that source the materials for the present Memoir will be mostly drawn.

Her picture of her person and mind in her youth is too curious to be omitted, especially as, while it imparts to us her opinion of herself, it betrays features of character of which it is almost certain that she was wholly unconscious. "I was," says she, "very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body; both for internal and external endowments; for never was there child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes was black, like my father's, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's. The hair of my head was brown, and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright; with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple on my chin: Like my father, full cheeks; and round face, like my mother; and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age hath long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field: (Isaiah, xl. 67, 68; 1 Peter, i. 24:) For now, when I caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body: I had a strong and copious memory; a sound judgement, and a discerning spirit; and so much of a strong imagination in me, as at many times even my dreams and apprehensions proved to be true," &c. &c.

She was married young to Richard, third Earl of Dorset of the Sackvilles, a man of lively parts, and licentious life, and probably a polite and negligent husband; and afterwards,

when she had passed the age of forty, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a person distinguished only by the brutality of his manners, and the most ungrateful disloyalty. She had abundant cause of private offence from each. The first was a spendthrift, and quarrelled with her because she prevented him from dissipating her estate; the second was a tyrant, and distracted her by the savageness of his humour. Yet she speaks well, and even kindly, of both. The one she tells us was in his nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant: that he excelled in every sort of learning all the young nobility with whom he studied at Oxford; and that he was a true patriot, and an eminent patron of scholars and soldiers. Of the other she says, that he had a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, and a discerning spirit, with a very cholerick nature; and that he was in all respects one of the most distinguished noblemen in England, and well beloved throughout the realm; all which, except the slight censure of his temper, is expressly contradicted by the best historical evidence. How happened it then, high spirited and clear sighted as she was, that she should thus have sacrificed not only the truth, but her own feelings of resentment, by these unmerited compliments? Probably because she disdained to own, even to herself, an erroneous judgment in the choice of her consorts, and because the burthen of their ill usage had been lightened by the consolation she found in self-preference.

I will insert one more extract from her Memoirs, in her own words; not only as it exhibits a further proof of this singular complaisance, but for the view which it affords us of her character, or rather of her own conception of it, in middle age.

"I must confess," says she, "with inexpressible thankfulness, that, through the goodness of Almighty God, and the mercies of my Saviour Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, I was born a happy creature in mind, body, and fortune; and that those two Lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by divine Providence married, were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both. With my first Lord, about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for a sum of money, which I never did, nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us; as also for his profusion in consuming his estate, and some other extravagances of his: and with my second Lord, because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in five thousand pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want malicious ill willers, to blow and foment the coals of dissention between us; so as in both their life times, the marble pillars of Knowle, in Kent, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay arbours of anguish; insomuch as a wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my Lords' great families as the river Roan, or Rhodanus, runs through the lake of Geneva without mingling any part of it's streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both these great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."

We have indeed abundant proof of the misery in which she must have lived with Lord Pembroke from the following letter, written by her to her uncle, Edward, Earl of Bedford, which remains in the Harleian Collection.

"My Lorde,

"Yesterdaye by Mr. Marshe I receved your Lordship's letter, by which I perceved how much you were trubled att the reporte of my beeing sicke, for which I humblé thanke your Lordshipe. I was so ill as I did make full accountt to die; but now, I thanke God, I am somthinge better. And now, my Lorde, give me leve to desire thatt favouer from your Lordship as to speke ernestly to my Lorde for my coming up to the towne this terme, ether to Bainarde's Castell, or the Cok-pitt; and I protest I will be reday to returne backe hether agane whensoever my Lorde appoyntes itt. I have to this purpos written now to my Lorde, and putt it inclosed in a letter of mine to my Ladey of Carnarvan, as desiring her to deliver

itt to her father, whiche I know shee will do with all the advantage shee can, to farder this bussnes; and iff your Lordship will joyne withe her in itt, you shall afforde a charittable and a most acceptable favouer to your Lordship's cossen, and humble frind to command,

ANNE PEMBROOKE."

Ramossbury, this 14 of January, 1638.

" If my Lorde sholld deny my comming, then I desire your Lordship I may understand itt as sone as may bee, thatt so I may order my poore businesses as well as I cane witheoutt my one comminge to the towne; for I dare not ventter to come upe witheoutt his leve, lest he sholld take that occassion to turne mee outt of this howse, as hee did outt of Whitthall; and then I shall not know wher to put my hede. I desire nott to staye in the towne above 10 dayes, or a fortnight att the most."

This worthless Peer, from whom she had been obliged at length to separate herself, died in 1649; and now, finding herself emancipated from the thraldom under which she had so long laboured, her great spirit bounded, as it were, at once to the proper height which nature had allotted to it. She retired to her own superb estates in the north; not to seclude herself from society, but to chear and enliven it by a princely hospitality; not to cultivate in mortification the devotions of the closet, but to invigorate the piety, and improve the morals, of a very large community, as well by her instruction as her example; not to increase her revenues by contracting her expenses, but to give loose to a profusion at once magnificent and œconomical, and to adorn a region with splendid monuments to the fame of her illustrious progenitors, and to the zeal with which she had devoted herself to the celebration of their memory. She was at that time more than sixty years old, but she entered on her task with the ardour and alacrity of youth. Skipton Castle, the chief seat of her family, and its parish Church, had been demolished by a siege during the grand rebellion, and five other castles and mansions of her ancestors were in ruins. All these she gradually restored to their pristine grandeur and convenience. She rebuilt the Church at Bongate, near Appleby, and the neighbouring Chapels of Brougham, Ninekirke, and Mallerstang, and a great part of the Church of Appleby, where also she built, and liberally endowed, a fine hospital for thirteen respectable widows. She testified her filial piety by placing in that town a statue of her beloved mother, and by covering, at Skipton, the ashes of her father with a superb tomb; and her affection to departed genius by erecting a monument for Spenser, in Westminster-abbey, and another for her tutor, Daniel, at Beckingham, in Somersetshire. She reared also in Westmoreland a stately Obelisk, the remains of which, on theRoman road called the Maiden Way, are still identified by the name of " Countess Pillar," to mark the spot where for the last time she parted with her mother.

" But it is still more to her honour," feelingly and eloquently says Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Craven, " that she patronised the poets of her youth, and the distressed loyalists of her maturer age; that she enabled her aged servants to end their lives in ease and independence; and, above all, that she educated and portioned the illegitimate children of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset. Removing from Castle to Castle, she diffused plenty and happiness around her, by consuming on the spot the produce of her vast domains in hospitality and charity. Equally remote from the undistinguishing profusion of ancient times, and the parsimonious elegance of modern habits, her house was a school for the young, and a retreat for the aged; an asylum for the persecuted, a college for the learned, and a pattern for all."

Spite of these admirable attributes, and of all the monuments which she herself had raised, the fame of this Lady was sinking fast into oblivion, when it was suddenly revived by the publication, in 1753, in a periodical paper called " the World," of the following letter, alledged to have been written by her to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles the Second, who had presumed to recommend to her a candidate for her borough of Appleby.

" I have been bullied by an Usurper; I have been neglected by a Court; but I will not be dictated to by a Subject. Your man sha'nt stand.

ANNE DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY."

This letter, not to speak of its value as relating to the Countess's story, was peculiarly

recommended to notice by some local circumstances. It appeared in a publication avowedly written by one justly and equally celebrated for the politeness of his literary taste, and for his extensive acquaintance with the later antiquities of his country. It flattered the political prejudices of the hour, and furnished a new theme to the whigs, drawn from a period comparatively slavish, yet ascribed to one of the highest of the aristocracy. It was viewed as an inestimable curiosity in every point of consideration, and a thousand times quoted or repeated. It found its way even into the "Philosophy of Rhetoric" of Dr. Campbell, who uses it to illustrate a position. After all, I incline strongly to doubt, nay to deny, the genuineness of the document itself. Fond as the Countess was of recording even the most insignificant affairs of her life, there are no traces of it, nor of the circumstance which is said to have occasioned it, in her Memoirs; nor does the work in which it first appeared condescend to favour us with any hint of reference to the original authority from which it was derived. These, however, are but strong grounds for suspicion; but the internal evidence of the thing itself seems completely to destroy all chance of its authenticity. The measured construction and the brevity of each individual sentence; the sudden disjunction of the sentences from each other; the double repetition, in so small a space, of the same phrase; and the studied conciseness of the whole; are all evidently creatures of modern taste, and finished samples of that science of composition which had then (I mean when the Countess acquired her habits of writing,) scarcely dawned on English prose. No instance, I think, can be found of the verb "stand" having been used at that time in the sense to which it is applied in this letter, nor was the quaint and coarse word "bully" known but as a substantive. It is vexatious to be obliged to strip this Lady's life of an anecdote so interesting, but it would have been uncandid to insert it without the remarks which I have taken the liberty to make.

The Countess had the happiness to live very long, with few infirmities. Dr. Whitaker states her age to have been eighty-seven, but the inscription on the splendid tomb which had been erected by herself at Appleby expressly informs us that she was born on the thirtieth of January, 1590, and died, at her Castle at Brougham, on the twenty-second of March, 1675. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, preached a sermon at her funeral, in the dull and conceited strain which then distinguished such orations; from which, however, I will select a single passage, because we have hitherto received no account of her character but from her own pen. "She had," says he, "a clear soul, shining through a vivid body. Her body was durable and healthful, her soul sprightful; of great understanding and judgment; faithful memory, and ready wit. She had early gained a knowledge, as of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives, in any kind; insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, well seen in all human learning," (Dr. Donne) "is reported to have said of her that she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination down to slea-silk. If she had sought fame rather than wisdom possibly she might have been ranked among those wits, and learned of that sex, of whom Pythagoras, or Plutarch, or any of the ancients, have made such honourable mention: but she affected rather to study with those noble Bereans, and those honourable women, who searched the Scriptures daily; and, with Mary, she chose the better part, of learning the doctrine of Christ." The Sermon informs us that she left an account of "the Honours, Descents, Pedigrees, Estates, Titles, and Claims, of her progenitors, comprised, historically and methodically, in three volumes of the larger size." Those who have written of her seem to confound this work with the Memoirs of herself, which have already been spoken of, but the Bishop clearly distinguishes them. Lord Orford says that she wrote Memoirs of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset, which remain in manuscript: This has been, apparently with little reason, doubted by some later writers. Many curious effusions from her busy mind probably remain unknown, and buried among the evidences of her posterity.

This great Countess had by Lord Dorset three sons, who died infants, and two daughters; Margaret, married to John Tufton, Earl of Thanet; and Isabella, to James Compton, Earl of Northampton. By the Earl of Pembroke she had no children.

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the original of "Gerbicus Fliccius," in

The British Museum.

Drawn by W. Haines, & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

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THOMAS CRANMER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CRANMER, unlike the generality of the clergy of his time, was of very respectable birth. His family was originally seated at Sotherton, in Suffolk, from whence his grandfather removed to Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on his marriage with the heiress of a most ancient house which bore the name of that parish, and whose estates he acquired by the match. The Archbishop was the second son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, by Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in the same county; and was born at the former place on the second of July, 1489. Strype informs us that the education of his childhood was entrusted to "a rude and severe parish clerk" (meaning, I suppose, the minister of his father's parish) "of whom he learned little, and endured much;" and that at the age of fourteen he became a student of Jesus College, in Cambridge, and in due time was elected a fellow of that house, and took his degree of Master of Arts. His academical career was for a while arrested by an unbecoming match, into which he was probably led by that kind and easy nature which has been always ascribed to him. We are told particularly of his wife, that she was a relation to the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, opposite to Jesus-lane, in Cambridge, and resided there, doubtless in the character of a servant. The marriage of course deprived him of his fellowship, and this good man, destined to become the second person in the State, retired meekly to live with his wife at the inn, perhaps enjoying there, such is the delusion and uncertainty of human prospects, that peace, and tranquil security, which was ever denied to his future grandeur. Within a year, however, she died in childbirth: Cranmer, such was the affection of his college towards him, was immediately restored to his fellowship; and in 1523 was admitted Doctor in Divinity, and appointed Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and an examiner of candidates for divinity degrees.

He remained, thus employed, in the University till 1529, when an accident made him known to the King. The plague then raged in Cambridge, and Cranmer had taken refuge in the house of a Mr. Cressy, to whose wife he was related, at Waltham Abbey, in Essex, and had carried thither with him the sons of that gentleman, who were his college pupils. It happened during his short residence there that Edward Fox, at that time Almoner to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, came to visit his host; and the legality of Henry's proposed divorce from Catharine of Arragon, for which he was then suing at Rome, becoming the topic of conversation, those eminent persons, to whom Cranmer's reputation at Cambridge was not entirely unknown, engaged him in the discussion. He ventured to say that he thought the King's reference to the Holy See was totally unnecessary; would produce tedious delay, and in the end prove ineffectual: that the question whether a man might lawfully marry his brother's widow appeared to him to have been already clearly decided by the authority of the Scriptures; but that the safest method for the King to pursue would be to lay that question before the most learned divines of his two Universities, and to abide by their decision. Fox and Gardiner, who were good courtiers, as well as good catholics, conscious that the King would highly relish the proposal,

hastened to inform him of it, and, honestly, or unwarily, mentioned the name of the author; on which Henry is said to have exclaimed, "this man hath gotten the sow by the right ear." He commanded Cranmer to wait on him without delay; formed presently a high opinion of his talents and his learning; and directed him to digest in the form of a general treatise all his arguments on the subject of the divorce; and, in order to his undisturbed application to that task, placed him in the house of Thomas Earl of Wiltshire, where he became the friend and favourite of that nobleman's daughter, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Boleyn, whom Henry already meditated to take to his second wife. These matters are said to have occurred in August, 1529.

When he had completed his book, the King sent him to Cambridge, to dispute for the positions which he had advanced in it, and the decision soon after publicly declared by that University against the legality of the marriage with Catharine has been ascribed by historians chiefly to the ingenuity of his reasoning, a compliment the justice of which, whatever we might be inclined to place to the score of Henry's fearful influence, or of the undoubted dictates of religion and morality, it would be impertinent in this place to controvert. Be that however as it might, certain it is that he had already acquired so great a degree of credit with his master that he placed him at the head of those divines and civilians who were attached to the Earl of Wiltshire's embassy in the following year to the courts of Rome, Paris, and Brussels, and instructed to argue there for the divorce. He had the boldness to present his book to the Pope, and to propose a public disputation on the question, which was civilly declined; but he pressed so closely for some sort of decision, that the Conclave was at length forced into the impious absurdity of uttering a judicial declaration that the marriage was against the law of God, but that yet the Pope had the power of dispensing with it. Leaving Rome, he travelled with the ambassador through Germany, and at Nuremberg became acquainted with Osiander, a celebrated Protestant divine of that city, with whom he sojourned for a considerable time, and prevailed on him to write a treatise on incestuous marriages, in reference to the King's case. But he had a stronger motive for prolonging his stay at Nuremberg. He had again fallen, in the midst of his grave occupations, into the snare of love; and before he left that city was privately married to the niece of Osiander. This connection appears to have been attended but by little comfort, for, on his return, he left her in Germany; after a time, sent for her to England; and for five years together seemed to have no intercourse with her beyond an indifferent acquaintance; and even this he thought it prudent to relinquish, on the appearance in 1639 of the famous Six Articles, two of which forbad the marriage of priests, under pain of death, when he sent her again to her family. He had by this Lady (a fact which has escaped the notice of all who have written concerning him) a son, and a daughter. I find in the journals of Parliament that a bill passed the Commons on the ninth of March, 1562, for "the restoration in blood of Thomas and Margaret, children of the late Archbishop Cranmer."

To return to his public life. It should seem that the King had gradually imparted to Cranmer the whole of his confidence with regard to all his affairs in Germany, for we find him, singly, treating with the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, and other Princes of the empire, on every matter of importance in which England was then concerned with them. He returned, however, in November, 1532, and was immediately named to succeed Warham, who had died in the preceding August, in the See of Canterbury; thus leaping at once from the Archdeaconry of Taunton, and a single benefice, so insignificant that the name of the parish has not been preserved, to the highest ecclesiastical dignity of his country. The truth is, that Henry had found in him a man of considerable talents, united to a candid and grateful mind; humble and pliant as to all temporal affairs, but stedfastly attached to the new faith, a sort of obstinacy at that moment most convenient to his master's purposes. Strype has recorded, not much to Cranmer's credit, a long detail of his coquetry with the King as to his acceptance of this mighty dignity, in which the simple folly of Nolo Episcopari is absolutely burlesqued. He professed to decline it, not on the allegation, usual in such cases, of his own insufficiency, but because he could not endure the necessary appointment by the

Pope, knowing his Majesty to be the supreme head of the Church. Henry, affecting to treat this as a new opinion, put him on the proof, and Cranmer quoted an host of texts. The King, good man, was staggered, and referred the question to some chosen civilians, who determined that Cranmer might, without offence to his conscience, accept the Archbishoprick at the hands of the Pope, and afterwards protest against his spiritual authority. He submitted, and was consecrated on the thirtieth of March 1633, when he took the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope, and at the same time recorded a long declaration, in which, unhappily, we find the following words. " Non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam Coronæ ejusdem."

The first important public act of the new Primate was to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine: the second, to marry that Prince to Anne Boleyn. Though his interest was strengthened by the elevation of that unfortunate Lady, it was not injured by her fall; and yet, much to the credit of his heart, he had ventured, on her commitment to the Tower, to intercede for her with her savage husband. Indeed his zeal and activity in the great work of the reformation had rendered him an instrument indispensably necessary to the King's designs. While Cromwell was busily demolishing the fabric of the ancient religion, Cranmer, with a gentler hand, raised the new one from its ruins; and, if the church of England owes the strength and solidity of its structure to the power of Henry, the praise of its beautiful symmetry, and of the simple grandeur of all its parts, is due to the judgement, the mildness, and the patience, of the Archbishop. The story of a man so employed affords but few personal circumstances; and a history of the reformation is in fact the public life of Cranmer. In the prosecution of his mighty task he encountered considerable obstacles; was frequently contradicted, and sometimes endangered. Few among his contemporary prelates were sincere reformers, though all had abjured the Papal authority. Among them, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, not less distinguished by his sagacity than by his malignity, and the detestable Bonner, Bishop of London, were his bitterest enemies. At their secret instigation a long list of frivolous articles was preferred against him in 1543, by some clergy of his own diocese, for mal-administration, and irreligious practices, in his metropolitan church; and, that prosecution having justly ended in the utter shame and ruin of his accusers, he was charged in the House of Commons with heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar. This attack also failed, but in the following year a heavier blow was struck at him, for he was impeached to the King by a party, doubtless a majority, in the Privy Council, of endangering the safety of his Majesty, and of the realm, by dividing the people into a variety of heretical sects; on which it was demanded that he might forthwith be committed to the Tower, in order to his judicial examination. He was now saved by the special interposition of the King's absolute authority. Henry, having affected to consent to his imprisonment, sent privately for him in the night, and apprised him of his critical situation. Cranmer, stout in the defence of his doctrine and his practice, replied that he was well content to be committed, so that he might be afterwards indifferently heard. " O Lord," rejoined the King, (to use the words given to him by Fox) " what fond simplicity! so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's may take advantage against you. Do not you know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which, else, being now at liberty, dare not once open their lips, or appear before your face?" and hereupon gave him a ring, which was his usual token to the Council when he had determined to take the consideration of any matter from them to himself. They summoned the Archbishop to appear before them the next morning, and, after having subjected him to the indignity of waiting for an hour among servants in their anti-chamber, called him in; recited their charges against him at great length; and concluded by informing him of their resolution to make him prisoner; when he produced the ring, and the assembly, breaking up in confusion, waited on the King, who reproached them of falsely accusing his faithful servant, and terrified them into a shew of reconciliation with

him. Shakespeare has detailed the circumstances of this incident in his play of Henry the Eighth with much historical fidelity.

Henry at his death bestowed no peculiar mark of favour on Cranmer. He was named, it is true, in the King's will as one of the sixteen executors, and guardians to the youthful successor, a distinction which could scarcely have been with-held from any one in his high office. Edward's minority, however, and the affection of the Protector Somerset to the Protestant cause, left his inclination and his power to proceed in the reformation wholly uncontrouled. Gardiner and Bonner were committed to prison, and deprived; as were Heath, Bishop of Worcester; Day, of Chichester; and Tunstal, of Durham; but Cranmer's triumph over them was marked by mildness and humanity. The death of Somerset, and the accession of Dudley to vice-regal power, mighty as the opposition had been of those two great men, impaired neither his power nor his credit, for Dudley was, or affected to be, a zealous Protestant, and Cranmer meddled little in temporal affairs, unless they were importantly connected with those of the church, and therefore had few political enemies. Unhappily, his exalted situation necessarily forced him to take a decided part on the great state question of the succession, which distinguished the close of this reign. After having argued with equal boldness and acuteness in the Council, and with the King himself, in support of Mary's title to inherit the Crown, he was at last prevailed on by Edward himself, as it is said, in a personal conference, to subscribe to the Will by which that Prince had, on his death bed, bequeathed it to Jane Grey, and this inexcuseable vacillation sealed the ruin which before seemed ready to overwhelm him.

On the accession of Mary, the whole weight of her vengeance, and of that of her hierarchy, burst on him with irresistible fury. He was included in the act of attainder of the adherents of Jane, and in November, 1553, adjudged guilty of high treason for the part he had taken in her cause. He sued for mercy with the most submissive humility, and was tantalized with a pardon for that offence, which was granted merely to aggravate, as it should seem, the bitter chastisement which awaited him. Apparently in the same spirit, he was sent, in custody, from the Tower, together with Ridley and Latimer, to Oxford, to hold a public disputation on matters of Faith, with a select number of Romanists from the two Universities and the Convocation, deputed by the whole body of Mary's Bishops, not only for that purpose, but to deal judicially with the venerable prisoners. Here Cranmer adhered to his principles with a noble constancy, and on the twentieth of April, 1554, two days after the disputation, was again brought before this singular court; required to recant; and, on his refusal, condemned as a heretic. He was now remanded to his prison, till a confirmation of his sentence should be obtained from Rome, instead of which the Pope ordered a new trial, under his own authority, and directed Cardinal Pole, his Legate, to issue a commission for that purpose. On the twelfth of September, in the following year, Cranmer appeared before the commissioners, at the head of whom was Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, in St. Mary's church in Oxford, and, after some slight form of trial, was again vehemently exhorted to renounce his errors, and again firmly refused; whereupon he was declared contumacious, and cited to appear personally at Rome within eighty days, to which he agreed. In the mean time letters arrived from the Pope to the King and Queen, demanding that he should receive immediate condemnation, and be delivered over to the secular arm. This mandate was accompanied by an order to Bonner, and Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, to degrade him publickly, which ceremony was performed in the most mortifying and humiliating manner that vulgar malice could contrive.

All however was not yet lost. Cranmer, with the crown of martyrdom suspended but by a hair over his head, was still a formidable adversary. His courageous maintenance of that faith from either the letter or spirit of which he had never for an instant swerved, was a weapon which his enemies could not have wrested from him: but, alas! he let it fall from his hand, and the glory of the Saint was lost in the weakness of the man. Seduced, as Lord Herbert gives us room to suppose, by hopes treacherously held out to him, in an evil hour he signed a written recantation of all his doctrines. The rest is horrible to relate. Having thus

sacrificed a splendid reputation in this world, and hazarded his salvation in the next, for the sake of a small remnant of mortal life, which he must have passed in disgrace and obscurity, an order was secretly issued for his execution. He was led to St. Mary's Church to hear a sermon, and placed opposite to the pulpit, which was mounted by a friar, who exhorted him to persist stedfastly in the faith which he had lately embraced, and that to death itself, " which," added the friar, " it is the will of the magistrate to inflict on you this day!"

In this dreadful moment Cranmer sprung above himself, and nearly redeemed all that he had lost. " He rose from his seat," says Bishop Godwyn, " and, without the smallest discovery of fear, made an excellent speech to the people, in which, having promised many things concerning reformation of life and morals, he repeated the principal heads of his doctrine, and briefly explained his faith, affirming that in the power of the Pope was contained and established the Kingdom of Antichrist; and, finally, representing how heinously he had offended God by renouncing the truth, he declared therefore his resolution that his right-hand, which had so impiously sinned in subscribing the doctrines proposed by the enemies of truth, should be the first to suffer punishment." He was hurried directly from the church to the place of execution. " There he stood," continues Godwyn, as translated by Bishop Kennett, in a strain of expression which could not be amended, " exposed, the most piercing spectacle in the world, sufficient, one would think, not only to extort compassion from his enemies, but to melt inanimate things into tears; the Primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with Princes; most venerable for his great sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind; now, by the malice of the Romanists, drest in a ridiculous old habit; baited with scurrility, and contemptuous revilings; and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death. When he was bound to the stake, as soon as the fire was kindled, he raised his left hand to Heaven, and, thrusting out the other, held it in the flames, not removing it, except once to stroak his beard, till it was quite consumed. At last, as the flame increased, lifting up his eyes, he cried out, Lord, receive my spirit! and, continuing as motionless as the stake to which he was tied, endured the violence of the torture till he expired."

Archbishop Cranmer was the author of a multiplicity of devotional and controversial works. We have of his writings in print, his treatise on the unlawfulness of Henry's first marriage, which has already been mentioned.—Several Letters to that Prince, and his ministers, and to some foreign divines.—Three discourses on the Matter of the King's book, entitled " the Erudition of a Christian Man"—a great part of what was called " the Bishop's Book"—Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion—Queries concerning reformation, with answers—A resolution of seventeen questions concerning the Sacraments—A collection of passages out of the Canon Law, to shew the necessity of reforming it—Answers to the fifteen articles of the Devonshire rebels in 1549—A Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; which having been attacked in an answer by Gardiner, Cranmer rejoined in a second tract on the same subject—A Preface to the English translation of the Bible—A Catechism of Christian doctrine—The first part of the Book of Homilies—An answer to Dr. Richard Smith, who had written against his books on the Sacrament—A Confutation of unwritten Verities—Reasons which led him to oppose the Six Articles—Answers to some Queries concerning Confirmation—Considerations offered to King Edward the Sixth in favour of a further Reformation—A Manifesto against the Mass—and a Manual of pious Prayers. All, or nearly all, these Works may be found, either originally printed, or reprinted, in the collections of Fox, Burnet, and Strype.

His manuscript remains are perhaps equally voluminous, for several of his Tracts which are known to have existed are still undiscovered. Two very large volumes, written by his own hand, on all the great points at issue between the two Churches, are in the King's Collection in the British Museum, and there are, or were, six or seven more in the library at Hatfield. Burnet mentions two other volumes, which he examined; and many of his original letters are in the Cotton Library. Strype states that he left also a Declaration, in two books, against

the Pope's Supremacy; a treatise, in two books, against the Pope's Purgatory; another, concerning Justification; and an Argument against the sacrifice of the Mass, composed during his imprisonment; but does not inform us whether in manuscript, or printed.

The original from which the present engraving is taken is a singular curiosity, independently of its great intrinsic merit; for it is the only known specimen of an artist whose very name has escaped the observation of Lord Orford, Pilkington, Bryan, and others who have favoured us with notices of pictorial biography—It is inscribed "Gerbicus Fliccüs faciebat," and by a label which appears on another part of the picture we are informed that it was painted in the fifty-seventh year of the Archbishop's life.

George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

From the original Picture, in the

Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

Drawn by H. Cranse, & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

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GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

We might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this Nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier: in the rough-hewn narrations of Hackluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peter House under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematicks as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction, and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed however in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the Elizabeth Bonaventure, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself. Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal com-

mission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the Golden Lion, which however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition, which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the main mast of his own ship by the board, he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the Victory, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the Victory and a Brasil ship, off St. Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched; and the suffering of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparallelled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean, with indifferent success, returned but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England, destined to the Azores, in the summer of the following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Caraques, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594; but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the controul under which the use of such loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons; was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on

board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd, "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinctured always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his eccentric compeer, Essex; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise "of Honour Military and Civil," an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

"On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman" (Sir Henry Lea), "together with the Earl of Cumberland, having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chiefest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church: within it were many lamps burning: also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks: upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, fœlicissimæ Virgini; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes posituras tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cœlum fœlicissimé nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cœlo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne

hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majestie gratiously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in liew of an helmet, with a buttoned cap, of the countrey fashion."

The Earl's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office; in horse-racing, which had then lately become fashionable; and in feasts which rivalled the splendor of royalty; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family; lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high spirited for such a husband; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.

John Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.

From the original of Peter Oliver, in the Poſſeſſion of

The Moſt Noble, The Marquis of Winchester.

Drawn by W. Sotthwell. Engraved (with Permiſſion) by R. Cooper

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JOHN POWLETT,

FIFTH MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

THIS nobleman, whose services and sufferings in the cause of King Charles the first justly gained for him the title of "the great Loyalist," was the third son of William, the fourth Marquis, by Lucy, second daughter of Thomas Cecil, second Earl of Exeter of his family. He was born in the year 1597, and received a part of his education in Exeter College, Oxford His two elder brothers having previously died without issue, he succeeded in 1628 to his family honours, and to the possession of a noble estate, which his father's magnificent hospitality had burthened with an immense debt, to remove which he passed many years in a dignified seclusion, and had barely attained his object when the miserable circumstances of the times compelled Charles to take up arms against his Parliament.

That great and melancholy event drew him instantly from his retirement. He flew to the King; placed in his hands such of the fruits of his honourable frugality as were immediately within his reach; and promised the rest to the service of the royal interest. The pledge was but too soon redeemed. It occurred to the King's military advisers that Basing House, in Hampshire, the Marquis's chief seat, might be fortified and garrisoned to much advantage, as it commanded the main road from the western counties to London. It had already, like most of the great houses of that time, many of the requisites of a place of defence, "standing," says the anonymous author of some Memoirs of Cromwell, entitled the Perfect Politician, "on a rising ground, encompassed with a brick rampart, and that lined with earth; a deep dry ditch invironing all." As a domestic mansion, its situation, its vast extent of building, the magnificence and convenience of its apartments, and, above all, the splendor of its furniture and decorations, had justly rendered it the chief ornament and pride of that part of England. On every window, or, as some say, which is more likely, on every pane, the Marquis had written with a diamond "Aimez Loyauté;" and the sentiment was engraven too on his heart; for he obeyed the call of his Sovereign's necessity, without a moment's hesitation; exchanged at once the delicate enjoyments in which he had always lived for the hardships of a soldier's life; converted his palace into a fortification, his family into a garrison, and himself into a military governor.

The journal of the Siege of Basing House forms one of the most remarkable warlike features of the grand rebellion. It commenced in August, 1643, when the whole force with which the Marquis had to defend it, in addition to his own inexperienced people, amounted only to one hundred musqueteers, sent to him from Oxford. In this state of comparative weakness, it resisted for more than three months the continued attack of a conjunction of the Parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of five Colonels of distinguished reputation. It was considered of such importance to the royal cause that the Privy Council specially addressed to the King their request that he would, for the sole purpose of relieving it, change the route by which he had then determined to march into the West, but other circumstances rendered this impracticable. In the mean time the Marquis, and his Lady, whom he had sent for safety to Oxford, pressed earnestly for reinforcements from the troops who defended that city, but his request was of necessity denied, for the royal government was then seated there, with a military protection not more than adequate to so important a charge. At length he wrote to the Council that "for want of provisions he could not defend himself above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions that the rebels were like to grant to his person, and to his religion," for he was a stedfast Roman

Catholic. The many eminent persons of that persuasion who were then in Oxford, had before proposed to form of themselves and their servants a body sufficiently numerous for the enterprise, but the utter improbability of their being able to return through a country over which the enemy's troops were every where scattered produced at that time a rejection of the gallant offer. Chiefly, however, at the pressing instances of the Marchioness, the Council was persuaded again to entertain the question, when Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry, Gage, that great ornament to the royal service, and to his eminent family, volunteered to take the command of the gallant band; "which offer," says Lord Clarendon, "having been made with great cheerfulness by a person of whose prudence as well as courage they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual." The difficulties, the dangers, and the exquisite military skill, which combined to give an almost romantic character to this excursion are precisely detailed by the noble historian, and form a relation so interesting, that I could wish it were consistent with the design and the scope of this work here to repeat it; but it must suffice to say that the enterprise proved completely successful, and that the party returned to Oxford almost without loss.

The Marquis, thus recruited, continued to sustain the siege with the most determined perseverance and bravery, when it was suddenly discovered (such was the unnatural party virulence of which the history of those sad days afford but too many instances) that the Lord Edward Powlett, his youngest brother, then serving under him in his house, had engaged to betray it to the rebels. Sir Richard Grenville, whom they had sent from London to take possession of it, treacherous in his turn to his employers, quitted his road at Staines, and went directly to Oxford, where he communicated the design to the King, who apprised the Marquis of all the circumstances attending it. Lord Edward was instantly seized, confessed the whole, and impeached the rest of the conspirators; and the Marquis, having interceded with his Majesty to spare his life, turned him out of the garrison.

Soon after this event another relief of provisions was thrown into it by Gage, with the same gallantry and dexterity as the former. The attack was continually pressed with the utmost vigour, and the Marquis equally distinguished himself by his bravery in almost daily sallies, and by the good judgment of his measures of defence within the walls. He exposed his person to danger with the courage and coolness of an old soldier. On the third of July, 1644, a musquet ball passed through his clothes, and on the twenty-second he was wounded by another. We learn these circumstances from a journal of the siege, then printed at Oxford; which minutely records every day's work from the commencement to the fourteenth of November in that year. That little tract preserves also two short letters from the Marquis, highly characteristic of the noble zeal that inspired him. On the eleventh of the same July, Morley, one of the rebel Colonels, who there commanded the besiegers in the absence of Colonel Norton, a man of a large estate in Hampshire, having, in stern but civil terms, summoned the garrison to surrender, the Marquis replied,

"SIR,

"It is a crooked demand, and shall receive its answer suitable. I keep the house in the right of my Sovereign, and will do it, in despite of your forces. Your letter I will preserve in testimony of your rebellion.

WINCHESTER."

And to another summons, from Norton himself, on the second of the following September, "in the name of the Parliament of England," he answers,

"SIR,

"Whereas you demand the house and garrison of Basing by a pretended authority of Parliament, I make this answer; that without the King there can be no Parliament. By his Majesty's commission I keep this place, and, without his absolute command, shall not deliver it to any pretenders whatsoever.

Your's, to serve you,

WINCHESTER."

Norton, having gradually lost more than half his men under the walls, abandoned the attack, and was succeeded by a stronger force, under the command of a Colonel Harvey, which had no better fortune. At length Sir William Waller, whom his party affected to call "the Conqueror," advanced against it, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot. These too, says the author of "the Perfect Politician," above quoted, "did little more than heighten the courage of the besieged, who made frequent desperate sallies on them, till at length, thus outbraving all assailants for years, the place began to be esteemed impregnable." A mighty interest had now arisen for this little band of heroes, and their illustrious chief. Amidst the various objects of the war, none seemed so powerfully to excite the anxiety of Charles as the siege of Basing House. It was a natural feeling, which arose from veneration and gratitude, and therefore the loyalists throughout the kingdom participated in it as with a common assent. The rebels themselves regarded this Nobleman with a respectful admiration, and blushed, behind the mask of pretended patriotism, while they looked around in vain among their numerous partisans for a volunteer who fought neither for glory nor for spoil; who had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain; who had turned suddenly round from the tedious and painful redemption of his patrimony to ruin it in the cause of his Sovereign; whose motives, and whose conduct, seemed to have in them something more than human, merely because they flowed pure and unmixed from the finest principles of humanity.

A sad reverse however was approaching. The fatal battle of Naseby soon after broke the spirits of the loyalists, and the King's strong places surrendered in rapid succession. Cromwell, flushed with success, marched from Winchester, which had fallen with little resistance, upon Basing, where, according to its accustomed port, his summons was proudly rejected. But he was then irresistible. Bold, skilful, fortunate, and secretly inspired with a hope so gigantic that it gave a giant's force to all his endeavours, nothing could effectually withstand them. After a most obstinate conflict, Basing Castle was on the sixteenth of October, 1645, taken by storm, and be it ever recollected by those who may be inclined to rank Cromwell among heroes that, after his victory, he put most of its incomparable garrison to the sword. The Marquis had animated the besieged by his presence and example to the last moment. His life was spared, and he was sent a prisoner to London. What remained of his noble seat, which Hugh Peters, after its fall, told the House of Commons, "would have become an Emperor to dwell in," the rebels wantonly burned to the ground, having pillaged it, say all who have recorded this part of the tragical tale, of money, jewels, plate, and household stuff, to the almost incredible value of two hundred thousand pounds. After having been for some time imprisoned, he was permitted to retire, harassed with fines and sequestrations, to his estate at Englefield in Berks, where he passed the long remainder of his life in privacy, innocently dividing his time between agricultural exercise, and literary leisure. There the restoration found him, and left him, for this great creditor of the Crown was never in the smallest degree requited. Impelled perhaps by a spirit at once lofty and dejected, it is not improbable that he might have stedfastly refused any mark of royal favour; and it is more agreeable to entertain that conjecture, than to load the memory of Charles the Second with a new instance of ingratitude.

Three works translated from the French by the Marquis are extant. "Devout Entertainments of a Christian Soul," by J. H. Quarré, D. D. done during his imprisonment, and printed at Paris in 1649: "The Gallery of Heroic Women," by Peter le Moine, a Jesuit, in folio, 1652; and "The Holy History" of Nicholas Talon, in quarto, in the following year, both which were printed in London. He published other books, which, says Anthony Wood, "I have not yet seen."

The Marquis was thrice married: First to Jane, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage, by whom he had issue Charles, his successor, who was created Duke of Bolton by King William; secondly, to Honora, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of St. Alban's and Clanricarde, who brought him four sons, of whom two only, John and Francis, lived to manhood; and three daughters; Frances, married to Louis de Ricardie, a French gentleman; Anne, to John Lord Belasyse; and Honora, who died a spinster. By his third Lady, Mary, daughter of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, he had no children. He died on the fifth

of March, 1674, and was buried in the parish Church of Englefield, where, on an unostentatious tablet, in compliance with the direction of his Will, appears this inscription, from the hand of Dryden.

" He who in impious times undaunted stood,
And midst rebellion durst be just and good;
Whose arms asserted, and whose sufferings more
Confirm'd, the cause for which he fought before;
Rests here, rewarded by a heavenly Prince
For what his earthly could not recompence.
Pray, reader, that such times no more appear;
Or, if they happen, learn true honour here.
Ark of his age's faith and loyalty,
Which, to preserve them, Heaven confined in thee;
Few subjects could a King like thine deserve,
And fewer such a King so well could serve.
Blest King; blest subject; whose exalted state
By sufferings rose, and gave the law to fate.
Such souls are rare; but mighty patterns given
To earth were meant for ornaments to Heaven."

John Rulsell, First Earl of Bedford.

From the Original, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Bond.

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JOHN RUSSELL,

FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD.

We have here the founder of that immense fortune, and the first bearer of most of those exalted dignities, which still distinguish his posterity. He sprung however from no mean origin. His ancestors had been for nearly four centuries in the first rank of English gentry, holding of the Crown, in the County of Dorset, a Baronial estate, which, on the failure of the elder line of the family, devolved on that from which he descended. Several of them had held municipal appointments of considerable trust and honour; others had sat in the House of Commons; and his grandfather, Sir John Russell, filled the office of Speaker early in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He was the eldest son of James Russell, of Kingston, the estate above alluded to (son and heir of that Sir John) by his first wife, Alice, daughter and heir of John Wyse, a gentleman of that county.

He owed his introduction at the Court of Henry the seventh to a mere accident. Philip, Archduke of Austria, and King of Castile, say our historians, having been shipwrecked in January 1505, at Weymouth, whither he was driven by a great storm, on his passage from Flanders to Spain, was entertained by Sir Thomas Trenchard, one of the chief persons of that part of Dorsetshire, in whose house he lived splendidly, till Henry had received the news of his arrival, and invited him to the Court. It chanced that Sir Thomas sent for his cousin, Mr. Russell, then lately returned from his travels, with great fame, as Dugdale informs us, for his skill in foreign languages, to wait on the royal stranger, who was so much pleased by the conversation of his visitor, that he took the young man in his company to Windsor; recommended him strongly to Henry; and thus opened the way to his future fortune. It should seem, however, from certain historical circumstances which it is needless to state here, that the hospitable entertainment of the Austrian Prince in Dorsetshire was in reality nothing less than an honourable captivity; that Trenchard might be considered rather as his gaoler than his host; and that Russell was appointed to watch him on the way to London, and to deliver his person safely to the King, a service very likely to please a Prince of Henry's character. Whether these conjectures be well or ill founded, it is certain that Mr. Russell made his first appearance at Court on that occasion, and that the King immediately appointed him a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and distinguished him from his fellows by a more than ordinary degree of kindness.

Henry the Eighth, who succeeded to the throne about four years after this event, received him withincreased favour. They were about the same age, and Russell possessed most of the qualities which usually attracted, however seldom they might secure, that Prince's favourable notice—a sedate and clear understanding; a courageous heart; and a learned education, finished and polished by foreign travel. We find him in that remarkable selection of youthful gallantry made by the King in 1513, to grace his invasion of France, where during the siege of Theroüenne, Russell, with two hundred and fifty men, recovered a piece of ordnance from ten thousand French, under the command of one of their ablest generals; and afterwards, with singular bravery, cut off a large supply of provisions which the enemy had sent towards the town. The latter of these services was so eminently distinguished, that our old chronicles have affected to preserve the very terms of a dialogue on it, between him and the King, who, when he saw him after his return from performing it, believed that he had not yet set out. "I," cried Henry, "while we are fooling the town is

relieved." "So it is indeed," answered the other, "for I have sent them two thousand carcases, and they have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provision." "I, but," said the King, "I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban." "That," replied Russell, "was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon." "Nay then," concluded the King, "by 'r Lady thou hast not my pardon only, but my favour too." He was not less active at the siege of Tournay; was one of Henry's commissioners in 1518 for the restoration of that strong city to France; and in 1522, sailed again to the French coast, in that expedition which was commanded by the Earl of Surrey as Admiral, when he received knighthood from that Nobleman for his good service at the sacking of Morlaix.

In 1523 he was first invested with the ministerial character; sent Ambassador to Rome, and from thence, with great secrecy, even, says Lord Herbert, "in disguised habit," to Charles Duke of Bourbon, to foment the difference then subsisting between that Prince and the King of France. He prevailed on the Duke to join openly the alliance between Henry and the Emperor, and was personally engaged in most of the warlike enterprises which followed that junction. In 1525 he fought at the celebrated battle of Pavia; in 1532 attended Henry at his interview with Francis the First; and in 1536 was named, with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Francis Bryan, to sit in judgment on the Lincolnshire insurgents. On his return from that employment he was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and, towards the end of the same year, was sworn of the Privy Council.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1538, he was created Baron Russell, of Cheneys, in the county of Buckingham, an estate which he had acquired by his wife, and in 1540, on the dissolution of the greater monasteries, became enriched beyond all precedent, by grants from their spoil, particularly in Devonshire, where he obtained, together with the borough and town of Tavistock, the entire demesne of it's very rich abbey, comprising nearly thirty manors, with many large estates in other parts of the county, as well as in those of Bucks and Somerset. In 1541 he was constituted Lord Admiral of England and Ireland, and President of the Counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, and Somerset; and, in the conclusion of that year, on some occasion of difference between his master and Francis the First, was sent with a military force into Picardy. On the third of December, 1543, the custody of the Privy Seal was committed to him; and in 1545, when Henry attacked Boulogne in person, he commanded the vanguard of the besieging army. The King, who died in the succeeding year, appointed him one of the sixteen executors to his will, who formed a Council of Regency for the administration of affairs during the minority of Edward the Sixth.

At the Coronation of that Prince he exercised the venerable and dignified office of Lord High Steward of England, and soon after received from the Crown a grant of the great estates of the dissolved monastery of Woburn, in Bedfordshire, which has since become the chief residence of his heirs. A formidable insurrection in the western counties, in 1549, against the measures of the reformation, which were then pursued with the utmost vigour, called him again into military service. In his character of Governor of those provinces he patiently endeavoured by every possible exertion of the civil authority to restore order, and, finding all such efforts ineffectual, placed himself at the head of the best armed force that he could muster, and attacked the insurgents with very inferior numbers. Of the straits to which he was frequently reduced, and the dangers to which he was exposed, in this unequal warfare; the judgment and bravery with which he extricated himself from them; and his final complete success; a very lengthened and particular account, still highly interesting to those who inhabit that part of the island, may be found in Hollinshed's Chronicle, and there only. It was an eminent public service, and he was rewarded accordingly, for on the nineteenth of January, 1549, O.S. he was created Earl of Bedford.

During his absence in the West commenced the attack on the Protector, Somerset, which, though for a while suspended, terminated two years after in the tragical death of that great person. A large body of the Peers, prevailed on through the artifices of Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had combined against the Protector, and shewn themselves in

open insurrection. He solicited the support of those whom he esteemed his friends, and of those who had remained neutral. A letter from the Protector, probably circular, to the Earl of Bedford, together with two from the Earl in answer, have been preserved also by Hollinshed.

" After our right hartie commendations," says the Duke, " to your good Lordship, Here hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the King's Majestie and us as never hath béene séene, the which they can not mainteine, with such vaine letters, and false tales surmised, as was never ment nor intended on us. They pretend and saie that we have sold Bullonge to the French, and that we doo withhold wages from the soldiers, and other such tales and letters they doo spread abroad, (of the which if anie one thing were true we would not wish to live,) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremitie, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, especiallie of those men, towards the King's Majestie and us, of whome we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and praie you to hasten you hither to the defense of the King's Majestie, in such force and power as you maie, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend; the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the King's Majestie, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindfull of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them, but, as ye tender your dutie to the King's Majestie, we require you to make no staie, but immediatelie repaire, with such force as ye have, to his Highnesse, in his castell of Windsor, and the rest of such force as ye maie make to follow you. And so we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton Court, the sixt of October.

Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

EDWARD SUMMERSET."

" To this letter," continues Hollinshed, " of the Lord Protector's, sent the sixt of October, the Lord Russell, returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said moneth, first lamented the heavie dissention fallen betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he tooke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almightie God vpon this realme, being the next waie, said he, to make us of conquerors slaves; and like to induce upon the whole realme an universall thraldome and calamitie, vnless the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord doo helpe, and some wise order be taken, in staieng these great extremities. And, as touching the Duke's request in his letters; for as much as he had heard before of the broile of the Lords, and feared least some conspiracie had beene meant against the King's person, he hasted forward, with such companie as he could make, for the suertie of the King, as to him apptcined. Now, perceiving by the Lords' letters sent unto him the same sixt daie of October, these tumults to rise vpon privat causes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that convenient power should be levied, to be in a readinesse to withstand the woorst, what perils soever might insue, for the preservation both of the King and State of the realme from invasion of forren enemies, and also for the staieng of bloudshed, if anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humblie besought his Grace to have the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the King's Maiestie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie such thing whercin he hath given iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would so conforme himselfe as no such privat quarrels doo redound to the publike disturbance of the realme; certifieng moreover the Duke that, if it were true, which he understood by the letters of the Lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same; notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdome would take such a waie as no effusion of bloud should follow."

" And, thus much being conteined in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe, written the eleventh of October, the said Lord Russell, rejoising to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made to the Lords, wrote vnto him, and promised to doo what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Herbert, joined togither with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betweene him and

them; so as, his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might insue, according to their good hope and expectation; signifieng, moreover, that, as touching the levieng of men, they had resolved to have the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconveniences whatsoever, that either by forren invasion or otherwise might happen: and so, having their power at hand to draw neere, whereby they might have the better opportunitie to be solicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protector's letter."

These answers savour more of the caution of a politician than of the cordiality of a friend, or even the complaisance of a courtier. They were written, however, in a moment of great doubt and difficulty. The Earl seems, for no other intelligence remains of his conduct amidst that terrible contention, to have steered, probably with equal honesty and wisdom, an even course between the two parties. Certain it is that the downfall of Somerset neither increased nor diminished the favour in which he had been long held. During the greatest violence of the struggle it was his good fortune to be sent, with Lord Paget, Sir William Petre, and Sir John Mason, to treat of a peace with France, which was concluded at Guisnes, nearly at the same time when the flames of the faction at home were quenched by the blood of the Protector. He did not long survive the accession of Mary. His last public service was in an embassy of ceremony to Philip of Spain, whom he escorted in 1554 from Corunna to London, and introduced to that Princess as a bridegroom. He died at his house in the Strand, London, on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, and was buried at Cheneys, leaving by his Countess, Anne, daughter and sole heir to Sir Guy Sapcote, and widow of Sir Thomas Broughton, of Tudington, in Bedfordshire, an only child, Francis, his worthy and magnificent successor.

History affords us little on which to found a judgment of the first Earl of Bedford's character. His friends have neglected to transmit to posterity an account of those merits which could challenge so vast an extent of royal favour: His enemies too have been silent as to faults which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. The detail of his services here given, is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities, and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion. The mighty Edmund Burke, it is true, with that magical eloquence which could almost immortalize or annihilate the characters of those whom he favoured or disliked, but with the doubtful justice which always attends effusions of anger, levelled a general censure at the memory of this Nobleman, to avenge an offence offered by his heir nearly three centuries after his death. If history could have furnished a single accusation against him, that memorable Philippic would certainly have recorded it; but it charges him only with having received great rewards, and barely insinuates that he might not have deserved them.

Thomas Sackville, First Earl of Dorset.

From the original, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Dorset.

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THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL OF DORSET.

THERE is little chance that the story of this eminent person should ever be well told, for the narrator ought to possess the rare advantages of a mind somewhat like his own. The grave and minute annalist, and the sober recorder of family history, are seldom qualified even to discern the lofty track, still less to follow the rapid course, of genius; while those whose happy fancies can create and people new worlds, look down with disdain on the dull round of human affairs. Sackville was the first poet, and one of the first statesmen, of his time, and the biographer who would profess to celebrate his fame with justice should be at once a poet and a historian, a politician and a critic.

He was the only son of Sir Richard Sackville, a lineal descendant of one of the Norman band which accompanied William the Conqueror to England; Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation under Edward the sixth, and in the two following reigns, and a Privy Counsellor to Mary and Elizabeth, the last of whom he served also in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman was nearly related to Elizabeth, for he was first cousin, by his mother, to Anne Boleyn, and that circumstance, which many years before had introduced him at the court, peculiarly recommended him to the favour of her daughter. His first wife was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, a wealthy Alderman of London, and Thomas Sackville, the subject of this memoir, was the sole issue of their marriage. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in the parish of Withiam, in Sussex, where his family had long been seated, and was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, in the latter of which Universities he took the degree of Master of Arts. He removed from thence to the Inner Temple, where, according to the custom of young men of rank in his time, he studied the law, with no view of making it his profession, but as a necessary part of a gentleman's breeding, and was called to the bar, soon after which he became a member of the House of Commons. He had been already for some years distinguished as a poet, of which however I shall say little at present, and is supposed to have composed many small pieces in English, as well as in Latin verse, of which, being probably mingled with those of others, or, in some instances, totally lost, we are now nearly ignorant. We know that those poems on which his fame so justly rests were written before he had reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, and we know not that he wrote any thing afterwards.

About that period he married, and soon after travelled through France and Italy, from whence he returned in 1566, on receiving at Rome the news of his father's death, and, on the eighth of June in that year, he was advanced by Elizabeth to the peerage, by the title of Lord Buckhurst. His father, in addition to a fine inheritance, was so well known to have amassed immense wealth that it was usual, by a vulgar anagram, to call him "Fill Sack." The son, who had been before very profuse, which probably occasioned his going abroad at an unusual time of life, became now extravagant beyond all bounds, and soon fell into considerable difficulties. He is said to have been reclaimed by Elizabeth's wholesome advice; but Fuller tells us, and there is nothing improbable in the tale, that "happening to call on an Alderman of London, who had gained great pennyworths by former purchases of him, he was made to wait so long, that his generous humour, being sensible of the incivility of such attendance, resolved to be no more beholden to wealthy pride, and presently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his estate." Certain it is, whatever might have been the cause, that he suddenly changed his imprudence for a magnificent economy, which never

after forsook him. The Queen, who either really loved her kindred, or highly countenanced them from a proud respect to herself, took him into considerable personal favour, though she conferred on him no permanent appointment, either in her government or household, for many years. She sent him on an embassy to Paris in 1570, to congratulate Charles the ninth on his nuptials, and to treat of the marriage then proposed between herself and the Duke of Anjou, brother to that Prince; appointed him one of the Commissioners for the trial, and committed to him the miserable office of superintending the execution, of Mary Queen of Scots; and in 1587 intrusted to him, in the character of her Ambassador extraordinary to the United States, the difficult duty of hearing and composing their complaints against the Earl of Leicester, his honesty in the performance of which drew on him the vengeance of that favourite, through whose influence the Queen was induced to recall him, and to place him in confinement in his own house, where he remained a prisoner for nine or ten months, during which he never saw his wife, or children.

If Elizabeth by any act of imprudence ever placed herself in the power of another, Leicester was the man. Haughty, furious, and unfeeling as she was, her submission to his will, even when opposite to her own, was invariable; and her conduct at this time towards Lord Buckhurst affords a curious proof of it. Leicester died in September, 1588: Sackville was immediately released: in the April following he was named, without his knowledge, a Knight of the Garter; and in the course of that and the succeeding year, was employed in several services which required the strictest fidelity, among which the affairs of the United Provinces were peculiarly committed to his charge. In 1591 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in opposition to the favoured Essex, and that through the especial interference of the Queen herself, who some months after honoured him with a visit there. In 1598 he was selected to treat of a peace with Spain, and on the fifteenth of May in that year was raised to the office of High Treasurer, on the death of Burghley. On the occasion of Essex's wild insurrection he distinguished himself as much by his humanity as his wisdom; warned the unhappy Earl in time, with the kindness of a private friend, of the danger of his courses; and presided as Lord High Steward on his trial, with the strictest impartiality. The office of Earl Marshal becoming vacant by Essex's death, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for performing the duties of it. Elizabeth died soon after.

His patent for the office of Lord Treasurer was renewed by James, even before that Prince quitted Scotland; the choice of the principal servants of the Crown was in a great measure intrusted to him; and on the thirteenth of the March following the King's accession he was created Earl of Dorset. The faculties of his high office soon became strangely changed. In the late reign the main occupation of the chief Minister of finance was to dispose properly of the means which had arisen from natural and simple resources, well chosen, and well husbanded; in this, to devise extraordinary methods to replenish a treasury exhausted by the most absurd profusion. The circumstances of Dorset's private life somewhat qualified him for acting in either situation with more ease than most men, but that he should have possessed in each the unvaried good opinion, not only of his Sovereigns, but of his compeers, and of the people, can be ascribed only to a rare perfection both of head and heart. The two following letters, which were placed a few years since by me in a Life of Sir Julius Cæsar, who acted under him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, may be considered as great curiosities, for the lively light which they throw on a part of the character of Sackville's mind, independently of the striking proof afforded by them of the financial distress of that reign; nor are they less estimable as specimens of his epistolary composition, especially since Naunton has informed us that "his secretaries did little for him by the way of inditement, wherein they could seldom please him, he was so facete and choice in his phrase and style." These letters were written to Sir Julius by the Earl's own hand.

"I have just sined your 2 orders, and do gretely thank you for delivering my most humble thankes to his Ma^tie. As for clamors for monies when ther is no meanes to pay, that is news to you, but not to me. I know not, nor no man erthly knows, any other remedy but to aunswer them that they must tary til it come in. As for any ordinaries coming in, Sir Vin-

cent Skinner can alwaies tel you far better than I, for he was alwaies my inforrmer; and as for extraordinaries, I know of none but this of the tinne. That can go neither forward nor backwards by my presens. I have left full order with M^r^ Attúrney, and Sir Rich. Smith, to expedite the same; but the delivery of the tinne at London, and in Cornwale, in my opinion will not be done thies 20 daies yet. As to my coming to London, I know not a halfpeny of of help that I can give you therby, if I were fit, or able; and I thank humbly his Ma^tie^ he hath geven me credit to seke to recover my helth, w^th^ I desier to do for his serves; but God doth know that I have yet found a small beginning of recovery, and do leave all to God's mercies, knowing that only time, aier, and free from business, must help this rooted cold and cough of mine, so fast fixed in me.

So I rest, ever your most assured friend,

HORSLEY,
31 May, 1607.

T. DORSET."

He concludes, a few days after, in the following terms a very long letter on the pre-emption of tin by the Crown; an unpopular, but not new project, in which James's ministers were then busily employed, and which is alluded to in the preceding. The letter has no date, but is indorsed by Sir Julius Cæsar, " 9 Junii, 1607."

" Now, Mr. Chauncellor, touching your lamentacõn of the clamors and sutes that are daily made to you for money, and how grevous it is unto you, and therefore desier my help and advise what you shold do, I can say but this; that true fortitude is never daunted, and truth ought never to be either afraid or ashamed. You may truly aunswer them that the king's dets, his subsidies, his rents, his revenues, notwithstanding all the meanes for levieng of them that possibly may be devised, ar not paid, but pecemele come in, with grete difficulty; and how can the king's ma^tie^ pay that w^ch^ he owes, when that which is owing to him is unpaied? Besides his ma^tie^ hath brought w^th^ him an increse of a most comfortable charge; as of a quene, the king's wief; a prince; and other his most royall progeny. Thes ar comfortable charges, and all good subjects must help willinglie to beare the burden therof.—That the King of Spaine himself, that hath so many Indian gold and silver mines to help him, doth yet leave his dets many times unpaied, upon accidents that happen.—That the king's ma^tie^, and his counsell, do not neglect to devise all possible meanes and waies to bring in monies, and do not dout, within convenient time, though sodenly it cannot be doon, to procure good helpes towards satisfaction of the dettes.—That alredy he hath assined a good part of his subsidy to discharge the same.—That no labours shall be spared to effect the same: in the meane while they must have paciens, and be content.—That as the king's revenues do come in, so they shall have part and part among them; for one must not have all, and the rest nothing. These, and such like, are true aunswers, and ought, and must satisfie, and these you must not be afraid to geve; and such as will not be satisfied with thes ar men without dutie or reson; therefore no great matter though they be unsatisfyed.

" Now, Mr. Chauncellor, if 3 weekes be so grevous unto you, what will you think of my greif that in this kind have indured the greif of 3 yeres? But let this be your last and chiefest comfort—that we have a most roiall, rare, and most gracious king, for whom we can never speke to much, nor do sufficient, though we expend our lieves, lands, and goods, and all that we have, in this servis. I have told you that I will bend all my indevours to bring in monies, which also must have it's due time, for sodenly you may not expect it: pfering you therefore that w^ch^ now aptaineth to you, and, by the grace of God, you shall se that I will so laboriously, and I hope so effectually, procede in the other, as you shall have comfort, and I my harty contentation, that I may do some acceptable servis to so gracious a soverein.

Yor most assured frend,

T. DORSET."

Such was his vivacity in the seventy-second year of his age, and when labouring under the greatest infirmity of body, which is somewhat singularly confirmed by a passage in his most remarkable will, referring to the very date of the last of these letters. After

having ordained, at great length, and with the utmost preciseness of diction that caution could suggest, that four certain jewels should be preserved for ever in his family, as heir looms, he proceeds to state his motives for so highly valuing them; and, having exactly described the first which he names, adds—" and, to the intent that they (his heirs male) may knowe howe just and great cause both they and I have to hould the sayed rynge with twentie diamonds in so highe esteeme, yt is most requisite that I do here set downe the whole course and circumstance howe, and from whome, the same rynge did come to my possession, which was this. In the beginning of the monethe of June, one thousand sixe hundred and seaven, this rynge, thus sett with twenty diamondes, as ys aforesaid, was sent unto me from my most gracious sovereigne King James, by that honorable personage the Lord Haye, one of the gentlemen of his highness' bedchamber, the courte then being at Whitehall, in London, and I at that time remayning at Horsley House, in Surrey, twentie miles from London, where I laye in such extremitie of sickness as yt was a common and a constant reporte all over London that I was dead, and the same confidentlie affirmed unto the kinge's highnes himself: upon which occasion yt pleased his most excellent majestie, in token of his gracious goodness and great favoure towards me, to send the saied Lord Haye with the ringe, and this royall message unto me, namelie—that his highness wished a speedie and a perfect recovery of my healthe, with all happie and good successe unto me, and that I might live as long as the dyamonds of that rynge (which therewithall he delivered unto me) did endure; and, in token thereof, required me to weare yt, and keep it for his sake. This most gracious and comfortable message restored a new life unto me, as coming from so renowned and benigne a sovereigne unto a servaunte so farre unworthie of so great a favour," &c.

He recovered his health sufficiently to return to London, and to attend to the more important concerns of his office, and in August made the will of which I have spoken. He survived, however, till the nineteenth of the following April, when he expired in an instant, as he sat at the council table, surrounded by the chief officers of the state, and in the presence of the queen. " On opening his head," says Sir Richard Baker, " they found in it certain little bags of water, which, falling upon his brain, caused his death;" but his constitution had been completely broken by his previous illness, though his mind retained it's pristine vigour to his last moment. Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm of him that he possessed, together with the brightest genius, and an understanding abundantly solid and useful, the highest honour, the strictest integrity, and the most undoubted loyalty, that could be found among the great public men of his time.

Sackville's poetical talents have always been regarded by a few in whom a just feeling has been united to a just judgment, with a degree of respect amounting nearly to reverence: to others they are almost wholly unknown. That fashion, however, if I may presume to use so light a term, which has of late so widely diffused itself, of collecting the scattered and forgotten English poesy of formerages may probably place him in his proper rank in general reputation. Those whom nature has qualified to appreciate truly his genius will express their wonder at the neglect which it has experienced; and ignorant affectation will spread his fame, by repeating the lessons it will catch by rote from legitimate taste. Yet Sackville will not delight the multitude of the present time. His very perfections will prevent it. The truth and simplicity of his designs; his stern and solemn morality; the awful grandeur of his imagery; will have no charms for those who can hang in rapture over the bald and tedious ballad monotonies, and the fierce and mysterious rhapsodies, from which the poets of our day derive the laurel. But the scope of these sketches, especially as I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting a specimen of his muse, forbids any lengthened discussion of her merits. Suffice it therefore to say, that Lord Orford thought it probable that " to the boldness of Buckhurst's scenes we might owe Shakespeare;" and that Warton has given him the credit of teaching to Spenser the method of designing allegorical personages. His works were the tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex, called in a later edition " Gorboduc;" the " Induction," (or poetical preface) to the series of legendary tales, by several hands, of unfortunate princes, and other great men, intituled " The Mirror for Magistrates;" together with the " Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham," which are the chief ornaments to that collection.

Gorboduc, in which it has been improbably said that he was assisted by Thomas Norton, a contemporary poet of small distinction, amidst several of the imperfections of a bold experiment, has the merits of being the first attempt made in this country to chase from the stage the devout mummeries of its infancy, and of having introduced into dramatic composition a dignity and perspicuity of style, and a strength of reflection, to which it had before been wholly unaccustomed. His greater work shall speak for itself, in an extract from the Induction, which some may think too long, and which others will wish had been yet further extended.—The poet is led by Sorrow, exquisitely personified, to the utmost extent of the infernal regions, where the mighty unfortunates are to pass him in review, and to recount their respective histories. On his way he encounters the following griesly inmates of the vast prison.

And first, within the porch and jawes of hell,
Sate deep Remorse of conscience, all besprent
With teares; and to herself oft would she tell
Her wretchednesse; and, cursing, never stent
To sob and sigh; but ever thus lament,
With thoughtfull care, as she that all in vaine
Would weare and waste continually in paine.

Her eyes, unstedfast rolling here and there,
Whurl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought:
So was her mind continually in feare,
Tossed and tormented with tedious thought
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought:
With dreadfull cheere, and lookes throwne to the skie,
Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next saw we Dread—all trembling how he shooke!
With foote uncertaine, profered here and there,
Benum'd of speech, and, with a ghastly looke,
Searcht every place; all pale, and dead for feare;
His cap borne up with staring of his heare:
Soyn'd and amaz'd at his owne shade for dreed,
And fearing greate dangers then was need.

And next, within the entrie of this lake,
Sate fell Revenge, gnashing her teeth for ire;
Devising meanes how she may vengeance take;
Never in rest till she have her desire;
But frets within so far forth with the fire
Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
To die by death, or veng'd by death to be.

When fell Revenge, with bloudie foule pretence,
Had shew'd herselfe as next in order set,
With trembling limbes we softly parted thence,
Till in our eyes another sight we met:
When from my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,
Ruing alas! upon the wofull plight
Of Miserie, that next appear'd in sight.

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away;
And eke his hands consumed to the bone:
But what his bodie was I cannot say,
For on his carkas rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches, pieced one by one:
With staffe in hand, and scrip on shoulder cast,
His chiefe defence against the winter's blast.

His food for most was wilde fruits of the tree,
Unlesse sometime some crums fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,

As one the which full daintily would faire:
His drinke the running stream; his cup the bare
Of his palme closde; his bed the hard cold ground:
To this poore life was Miserie ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feeres,
In thoughtfull cares forth then our pace we held.
And by and by another shape appeares,
Of greedie Care, still brushing up the breers:
His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deepe dented in;
With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin.

The morrow gray no sooner hath begun
To spread his light, even peeping in our eyes,
When he is up, and to his worke yrun.
But let the night's blacke mistie mantles rise,
And with foule darke never so much disguise
The faire bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
But hath his candles to prolong his toile.

By him lay heavie Sleepe, cosin of Death,
Flat on the ground, and still as any stone;
A very corps, save yeelding forth a breath.
Small keepe tooke he whom Fortune frowned on,
Or whome she lifted up into the throne
Of high renown; but, as a living death,
So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath.

The bodies rest; the quiet of the heart;
The travailes ease; the still night's feere was he:
And of our life in earth the better part;
Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
Things oft that tide, and oft that never bee.
Without respect esteeming equally
King Crœsus' pompe, and Irus' povertie.

And next in order sad Old Age we found:
His beard all hore, his eyes hollow and blind;
With drouping cheere still poring on the ground,
As on the place where Nature him assign'd
To rest, when that the Sisters had untwin'd
His vital thred, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast declining life.

There heard we him, with broke and hollow plaint,
Rue with himselfe his end approching fast;
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweete remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delites of lustie youth forewast:
Recounting which, how would he sob and shreek,
And to be yong again of Jove besecke.

But, and the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot returne again,
This one request of Jove yet prayed he—
That in such withred plight, and wretched paine,
As eld (accompanied with loathsome traine)
Had brought on him, all were it woe and griefe,
He might a while yet linger forth his life;

And not so soone descend into the pit
Where Death, when he the mortall corps hath slaine,
With wretchlesse hand in grave doth cover it,
Thereafter never to enjoy againe
The gladsome light, but, in the ground ylaine,

In depth of darknesse, waste, and weare, to nought,
As he had nere into the world been brought.

But who had seene him, sobbing how he stood
Unto himselfe, and how he would bemone
His youth forepast, as though it wrought him good
To talke of youth all were his youth forgone,
He would have musde and marvail'd much whereon
This wretched Age should life desire so faine,
And knows ful'wel life doth but length his paine.

Crookebackt he was, toothshaken, and blere eyde;
Went on three feete, and sometime crept on foure;
With old lame bones that rattled by his side;
His scalpe all pil'd, and he with eld forlore;
His withred fist still knocking at Death's dore;
Fumbling, and driveling, as he drawes his breath,
For briefe, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale Maladie was plaste,
Sore sicke in bed, her colour all forgone;
Bereft of stomacke, savour, and of taste:
Ne could she brooke no meate, but broths alone:
Her breath corrupt; her keepers every one
Abhorring her; her sicknesse past recure;
Detesting physicke, and all physicke's cure.

But oh the doleful sight that then we see!
We turn'd our looke, and, on the other side,
A griesly shape of Famine mought we see,
With greedie lookes, and gaping mouth, that cried
And roar'd for meate as she should there have died.
Her bodie thin, and bare as any bone,
Whereto was left nought but the case alone:

And that, alas! was gnawne on every where
All full of holes, that I ne mought refraine
From teares to see how she her armes could teare,
And with her tecth gnash on the bones in vaine,
When all for nought she faine would so sustaine
Her starven corps, that rather seemed a shade
Than any substance of a creature made.

Great was her force whom stone wall could not stay:
Her tearing nailes, snatching at all she saw;
With gaping jawes that by no meanes ymay
Be satisfied from hunger of her mawe,
But eates herselfe, as she that hath no law:
Gnawing alas! her carcase all in vaine.
Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vaine.

On her while we thus firmely fixt our eyes,
That bled for ruth of such a driery sight,
Loe suddenly she shrunkt *(shriekt)* in so huge wise
As made hell gates to shiver with the might.
Wherewith a dart we saw how it did light
Right on her brest, and, therewithall, pale Death
Enbrilling it, to reave her of her breath.

And by and by a dumbe dead corps we saw,
Heavie, and cold, the shape of death aright,
That dants all earthly creatures to his law;
Against whose force in vaine it is to fight:
Ne Peers, ne Princes, nor no mortall wight,
No Towne, ne Realmes, Cities, ne strongest Tower,
But all perforce must yeeld unto his power.

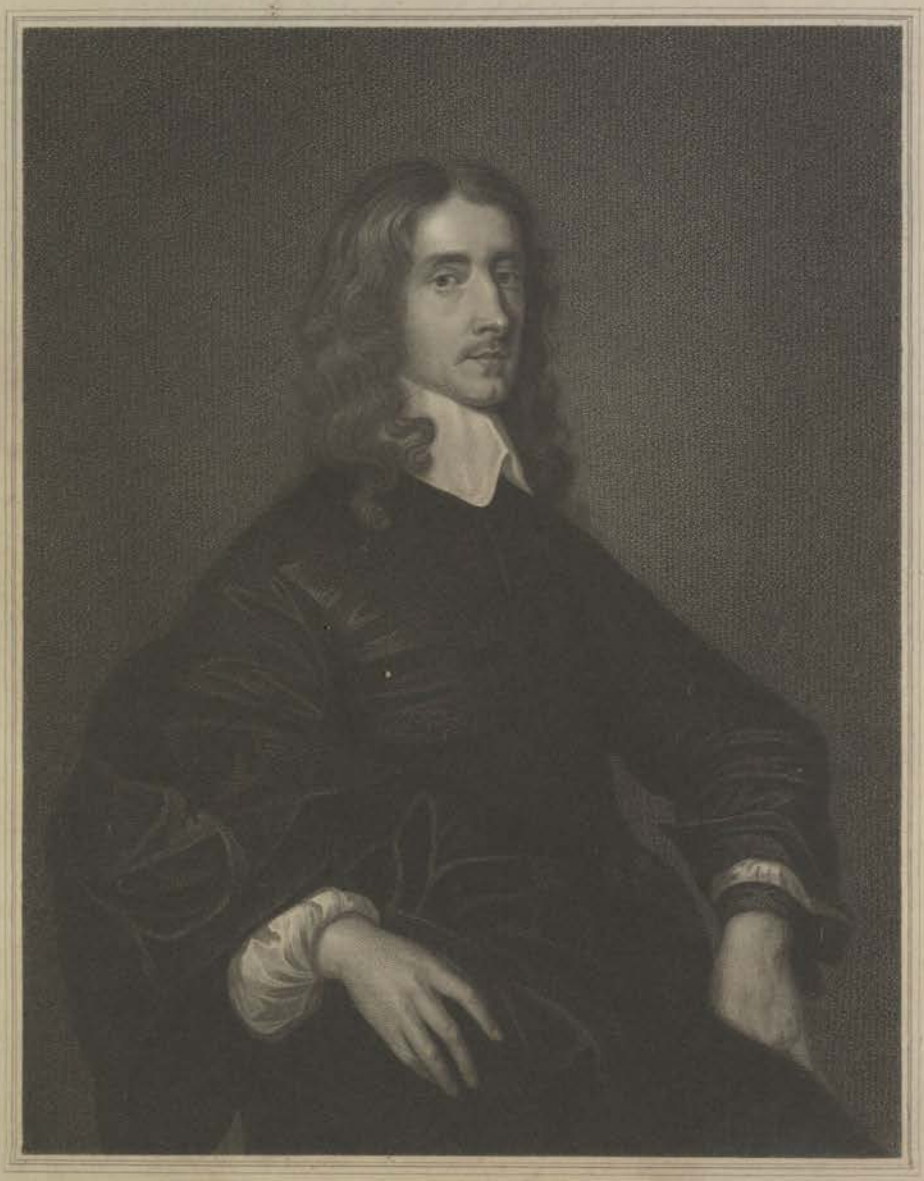
His dart anon out of the corps he tooke,
And in his hand, a dreadfull sight to see!
With triumph eftsoones the same he shooke,
That, most of all my feares, affrayed me:
His bodie dight with nought but bones, per die.
The naked shape of man then saw I plaine,
All, save the flesh, the sinow, and the vaine.

Lastly stood Warre; in glittering arms yclad,
With visage grim, sterne looks, and blackely hewed.
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilts was all with blood embrued;
And in his left, that Kings and Kingdomes rued,
Famine and fire he held, and there withall
He raced townes, and threw downe towers and all.

Cities he sackt, and Realmes that whilome flowred
In honour, glorie, and rule, above the best
He overwhelmed, and all their fame devoured;
Consumed, destroyed, wasted, and never ceast,
Till he their wealth, their name, and all, opprest.
His face forehew'd with wounds, and by his side
There hung his targ, with gashes deepe and wide.

In midst of which depainted there we found
Deadly Debate, all full of snakie heare,
That with a bloodie fillet was ybound,
Out breathing nought but discord every where:
And round about were portraid heere and there
The hugie hosts; Darius, and his power;
His Kings, Princes, his Peeres, and all his flower.

This great man married Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst Castle, in Kent, by whom he had three sons; Robert, his successor; William, who was knighted in France, in 1591, by Henry the great, at the age of nineteen, and fell in battle there two years after; and Thomas, who was also distinguished as a military man: and three daughters; Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Glemham, of Glemham, in Suffolk; Jane, married to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague; and Mary, to Sir Henry Neville, son, and successor, to Edward, Lord Abergavenny.



John Selden.

From the original of Mytens in

The Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

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JOHN SELDEN.

MR. SELDEN was certainly the most learned, and perhaps the most honest Englishman of his time. He was actually a patriot, for his continued efforts to serve his country, however frequently he might have mistaken the means, seem never for a moment to have incurred even a suspicion of selfishness. Wealth, power, and dignities, had been laid at his feet, and refused by him. Firm in his occasional resistance to that royal prerogative, the limits of which no man could so well define as himself; incapable of private resentment for public causes; indifferent to popularity, and despising the hypocritical fanaticism by which it was then the fashion to court it; he stood almost alone, a perfect example of public integrity. His patriotism extended to, and guided even his literary studies. The final object of all his works was to improve the history of the religion, the laws, the government, or the liberties, of his country. In the prosecution of his profound inquiries he disdained conjecture, and avoided argument. Devoted by his nature to the love of truth, he could not rest on his way till he had arrived at facts; and, influenced by the habit of his profession, he considered those only as facts which he could prove by the most rigid evidence. To qualify himself to search for such proofs, even to the remotest sources of intelligence, he had added to the most critical skill in what are usually called the learned languages, an intimate knowledge perhaps of all others which could boast a written alphabet. Some sparks of vanity in the composition of his mind would have placed his fame far beyond that of a few prodigies of learning who have been so frequently celebrated; but he sought not for notoriety, and did not affect either to be absent, or slovenly, or morose, or melancholy. It is perhaps therefore that he may be seldom recollected, while we talk with much interest of the Florentine Magliabechi, and of others who were very inferior to Selden.

This great man was the eldest son of Thomas Selden, of Salvington, a small village on the Sussex coast, not far from Arundel, who seems to have been of the higher order of yeomanry, and who had probably increased his means by having married Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Baker, of Rustington, a neighbouring parish, descended from an ancient knightly family of the county. Of these parents he was born on the sixteenth of December, 1584. He was sent, very young, to the free school of Chichester, and from thence, at the age of fourteen, to Hart Hall, in Oxford, where he astonished every one by the rapidity with which he mastered all the usual difficulties of academical study. His family, rather perhaps than his own inclination, had destined him for the profession of the law, and he removed therefore, at the end of four years, to Clifford's Inn, and in May, 1604, was admitted of the Inner Temple. Here he soon practised extensively as a chamber counsel, but we scarcely hear of him at the bar, and his absence from it has been attributed to his consciousness of some deficiency of requisite talents, but surely this is very extravagantly conjectured of one who became soon after a frequent speaker in parliament. May it not be ascribed with much more probability to the aversion which might reasonably be expected in such a man to the sophisms and misrepresentations by which an advocate is unhappily so frequently bound to sacrifice truth and justice to the interests of his client? In the intervals which could be spared from the exercise of his profession, he employed himself incessantly in searching into the origin and history of all laws, in all their branches; and, at the age of twenty-two, completed a treatise in Latin on the civil government of Britain, before the coming of the Normans. This work, notwithstanding many errors and omissions, was esteemed a wonderful

performance for so young a student, and the approbation with which it was received encouraged him to pursue the subject, and to enlarge on some detached parts of it, in several tracts, published mostly in the year 1610, under the titles of "Jani Anglorum facies altera;" "England's Epinomis;" and an Essay on single Combat. Nor was his pen then solely confined to antiquities of law, for in 1612 he printed "Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen Songs of Drayton's Polyolbion," a poem for its historical and other learning worthy of such a commentator.

His acquaintance was now sought by the most eminent literary men of his time. Archbishop Usher knew him so early as 1609, and they contracted an earnest friendship for each other, which continued unimpaired during Selden's life. Camden, Spelman, and Sir Robert Cotton, became his familiar companions. Ben Jonson lived in a strict intimacy with him, and Selden caught from the learned poet rather perhaps an inclination than a taste for English as well as Latin verse, for the few compositions left by him contain nothing very remarkable; though Suckling, unwilling to lose an opportunity of shewing respect to him, has given him a very honourable seat in the "Session of Poets." Perhaps the most favourable specimen of his muse is to be found in a short compliment to the author, prefixed to the Pastorals of William Browne, which I will insert for the sake of presenting this "great dictator of learning of the English nation," as he is called by a German writer, in a character so wide of the course of his usual studies.

So much a stranger my severer muse
Is not to love-strains, or a shepherd's reed,
But that she knows some rites of Phœbus' dues,
Of Pan, of Pallas, and her sister's meed.
Read, and commend, she durst these tun'd essays
Of him that loves her: she hath ever found
Her studies as one circle. Next she prays
His readers be with rose and myrtle crown'd:
No willow touch them! as his bays are free
From wrong of bolts, so may their chaplets be.

J. SELDEN, Juris C.

In 1614 he published his great work on Titles of Honour, comprehending, without the smallest omission, the history of all ranks in society which have acquired distinct denominations, and tracing them gradually to their original institutions and functions. The vast display of learning, and the exquisite correctness, which distinguish this extraordinary book, spread his reputation throughout the whole of Europe: but he was even then employed in a work of higher erudition—his treatise on the Deities of the ancient Syrians, intended as a commentary on all the passages of the Old Testament relating to the idols of the heathens, and discussing therefore not only the Syrian, but the Arabian, Egyptian, Persian, African, and European, idolatry. It appeared in 1617; and in the following year he published his "History of Tythes," in which, without arguing against the divine right by which the Church assumes to hold them, he cited numerous authorities of much weight which tended to invalidate it. The clergy, with good reason, were greatly alarmed, and the King not less offended. James, however, consented to hear his apology personally, and he was introduced for that purpose by Ben Jonson, as is said, and received more mildly than he had expected. The King pointed out some objectionable passages, particularly one, from which it might have been inferred that the twenty-fifth of December was not the true birth-day of our Saviour, and desired Selden to sanction the received opinion on that subject by a small treatise; which, finding nothing in the concession against his conscience, he promised to write, and presented it accordingly to James on Christmas day, which fell shortly after. The storm seemed thus to have blown over; but, within a very few weeks, he was cited before the High Commission Court, which, having exacted from him a submission, though in no very humiliating terms, prohibited the sale of his book; the King, at the same time, forbidding him, under pain of imprisonment, to reply to any of the animadversions which might be written on it.

He was now to take a part in that mighty political scene which was then opening. In 1621, James, having most imprudently asserted in a speech to the Parliament that the privileges of both Houses were originally grants from the Crown, the Lords did Mr. Selden the honour to refer that great question to his opinion, in delivering which he wholly denied the position; at the same time honestly defending the fair prerogative, with more warmth than they either expected or desired. He was consulted on the same occasion, though with less form, by the Commons; and the famous protest made by them, immediately before the dissolution of that Parliament, was attributed not only to his advice, but to his pen. For these facts he was imprisoned, by an order of the Council, of the sixteenth of June, which directed that "no person should be suffered to speak with him; nor should word, message, or writing, be received by him; and that a gentleman of trust should be appointed to remain with him," &c. He immediately addressed to Sir George Calvert, one of the Secretaries of State, the following letter, which, were it only for the cool firmness which it exhibits, certainly deserves a place in this memoir.

Most honored S^r^,

THIS most unlookt for imprisonm^t^ w^ch^ I now suffer, (but why, on my soule, I cannot guesse) falls in a time when I have divers businesses of private mens' in my hands, and under my direction. The warrant of my commitm^t^ is somwhat strict. My humble suite to yo^r^ Honor is that, through yo^r^ favor, I may have granted to me so much libertie here as that I may have speech w^th^ my friends upon such kinde of business, openly, and in the hearing of those gentlemen who are trusted w^th^ me: and I professe it, on the hope of my salvation, that there is not a seacret that hath, or can possibly have, any reference to the publique touching w^ch^ I desire either to heare or tell any thing, from or to any p^r^son living, so cleare is my brest, and I beseech yo^r^ Honor let me be dispatched in the making it appeare. Soe I humblie beseech you alsoe that my papers, w^ch^ are the labors of many houres, and a greate parte of the furniture of my studie in my p^r^fession, among which there is nothing that was written for seacret, may be safe. Let me obtain these suites now; and, my lib^r^tie once had, w^ch^ I knowe I nev^r^ deserved to loose, I shall expresse me ever humblie at yo^r^ Honor's service.

JO. SELDEN.

Notwithstanding this apparent rigour, he was liberated at the end of five weeks, at the intercession of the Lord Keeper Williams, a letter from whom to the Duke of Buckingham, to that effect, is extant. During his confinement he prepared for the press the historical work of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, and enriched it by numerous notes; and in the dedication of it to Williams, thanks that Prelate for having procured his release.

In 1623 he was returned a Burgess for the town of Lancaster, and in the Parliaments which were called in the first and second years of Charles the first was elected for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He had confined himself for four years chiefly to his literary labours, but in the beginning of this reign engaged again with great warmth in politics. He was chosen of the committee for forming articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, and appointed one of the managers at his proposed trial. After the dissolution of the Parliament in which those matters were agitated, he appeared among the firm opposers of the loan which Charles had unhappily been advised to levy on the authority of his prerogative, and pleaded in the Court of King's Bench for Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to submit to it. In the House of Commons he was a speaker on the popular side on all the great questions of that eventful period, and his speeches were regarded as the dictates of an oracle. He became so formidable to the government, that it was resolved to prevent his attendance in Parliament by secluding his person, and, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1628, he was committed to the Tower, on a charge of having uttered seditious expressions, and attempted to excite contempt against the State. After seven months' confinement, the Judges proposed that he should be released, on giving security for his good behaviour, but he stedfastly rejected the offer. He was then removed to the prison of the

King's Bench, and soon after prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for publishing a libel which had been written in the late reign by Sir Robert Dudley, intituled "a Proposition for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." By the favour of the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer, he was transferred to a nominal restraint in the Gatehouse, Westminster, and went for nearly three months into the country, at the end of which he was again committed to the King's Bench Prison, and remained there till May, 1631, when he was admitted to bail, that he might be enabled to appear in the Courts, on the matters of a great suit then pending between the heirs of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and afterwards bailed, from term to term, till July, 1634, when he was finally discharged; having, for four years together, incessantly solicited in vain for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The literary fruits of this second seclusion were his four treatises on ancient Jewish Law—"De successionibus in Bona defuncti—De successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum—De Jure naturali et gentium,"—and "Uxor Hebraica, sive de nuptiis ac divortiis."

This rigorous, and indeed illegal, prosecution, neither soured his temper, nor warped the impartiality of his judgment. We find him, even before he was absolutely released, on a Committee of Members of the Inns of Court for the management of the masque to be presented before their Majesties on Candlemas night, 1633; so rendering an agreeable compliment to the King, while he opposed the fanatical Prynne, though a great favourite of his party, who had written outrageously against all dramatic representations. Soon after too he published, at Charles's special desire, his celebrated treatise "Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris," which he had written some years before, in opposition to the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius. The King, in Council, commanded that copies of this book, the doctrines of which were so important to the interests, as well as flattering to the prejudices, of the country, should be preserved always in the chests of the Privy Council, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty; and the immediate concession of the Dutch to pay an annual tribute to the Crown of England for their fishery was ascribed in a great measure to the arguments of Selden. The sternness however of his political opinions and practice remained undiminished. In the Parliaments of 1640, and 1641, in which he sat for the University of Oxford, he was among the foremost of those who opposed the Court; joined with vehemence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford; and, perhaps inexcusably, (for who will subscribe to the praise of that Roman virtue which can disdain the ties of private gratitude?) of Archbishop Laud, from whom he had for many years experienced constant friendship and favour. Certainly he was a bitter enemy to the Hierarchy, and the votes which deprived the Bishops of their seats in Parliament, and the clergy in general of all temporal jurisdiction, had the earnest support both of his voice and his pen.

It was at this period, 1642, that the King, then at York, tendered to him the custody of the Great Seal. Charles took this step with the concurrence of those excellent men, Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Falkland, who admired Selden as much for his virtues as for his wisdom and learning. They entertained a hope that he had lately become somewhat disgusted at the increased violence of his party, for, though he had voted against the King's commission of array, he had supported with much force and warmth of argument the Royal Prerogative as to the Militia; but he declined the offer, by a letter to Lord Falkland, from the terms of which it may be clearly inferred that he had determined never to serve the King separately from the Parliament. Some knowledge of this correspondence got abroad, and a rumour arose that he had engaged with Edmund Waller, and others, to deliver up London to the King; and Selden, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of his own character, condescended to deny the charge on his oath. He now engaged more deeply with the Parliament party, and in 1643 was chosen one of the lay members of the assembly of presbyterian clergy, and soon after subscribed to that wretched bond of rebellion between England and Scotland which bore the name of "the solemn league and covenant." In the same year he was appointed by the Parliament Keeper of the Records in the Tower; in 1645 one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; and in 1646 the sum of five thousand pounds was voted to him, as a compensation for his sufferings in the public service, but it is said that he refused to receive it.

Amidst the horrors which shortly followed that period, the endeavours of the honest of either party became wholly useless. Mr. Selden had taken his full share in paving the way towards them, but he retired with a clear conscience. While the great mass of his political compeers had been swayed by ambition, vanity, resentment, or avarice, patriotism had been the motive, and the law of the land the index, to his public conduct. He returned with eagerness to his studies, and sat down to commence a work of stupendous erudition which he had long contemplated—" De Synedris et Prefecturis veterum Hebræorum," of which he lived to finish but three books, which were published singly, but at length appeared together in 1679, " which last edition," says Wood, " had divers corrections made, by reason of the many languages, twenty in number, therein." He wrote also, shortly before his death, a biographical and critical preface to " Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ," and " Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ per convitium de scriptione Maris Clausi," in which he detailed many circumstances of his own story. His works which have not been already mentioned here, were Notes on Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ, and on the Sums of Sir Ralph Hengham, 1616—Marmora Arundeliàna, &c. 1628—Discourse on the Judicature of the Peers and Commons, 1640—Answer to Sir Harbottle Grimston's Argument for Bishops, 1641—Discourse on the Rights of the Subject, in a conference between the two Houses, 1642—Privileges of the Baronage in Parliament, 1642—Versio et Comment. ad Eutychii Eccl. Alex. Origines, 1642—De Anno civili et calendario Judaico, 1644, and 1683—Dissertatio Historica ad Fletam—Discourse of the Office of Lord Chancellor—De Nummis—and two treatises, of the Origin of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments, and of Administration to the Goods of Intestates: the five last named were not published till long after his death.

He died on the thirtieth of November, 1654, of a gradual decline, at the Friery House, in White Friers, which he possessed as residuary legatee to Elizabeth (Talbot) Dowager Countess of Kent, with whom, as well as with her Lord, he maintained for many years the strictest friendship. He derived from that Lady other property, to a considerable amount, and had gained much in the exercise of his profession, and, having lived a bachelor, and with no disposition to expense, except in the purchasing of books, he died very rich. He had once (according to Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, who was one of Selden's executors,) bequeathed his curious and extensive library to the University of Oxford, but had in great part revoked the legacy, in anger, because a bond for one thousand pounds had been required of him there, as a security for the loan of a manuscript. He left it therefore in the disposal of his executors, forbidding them however to sell it; and they proposed to bestow it on the Inner Temple, where it actually remained for five years in some chambers hired for the purpose; but the Society having so long neglected to build a room for its reception, the executors finally placed it in the Bodleian Library, where it remains, together with his collection of ancient sculptures, and other antiquities. He was buried, by his own order, in the Temple Church, Archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon.

The parliamentary character of Selden was not long since given by an anonymous author, in a periodical paper, in the following terms, the truth, the comprehensive conciseness, and the manly beauty of expression of which, are equally admirable.—" Selden was a member of the long Parliament, and took an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a Museum, or great public library, resorted to, as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages; concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs."

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

From the original of Cornelius Janssen, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon.

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GEORGE VILLIERS,

FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

That is to say the first to whom that title was granted since it had been torn by attainder from the blood of Plantagenet, in the superb House of Stafford.

There is so much of historical importance, and so much more of the curiosity of anecdote, in the life of this extraordinary man, that the biographer who may endeavour to treat of it with conciseness will perhaps find it no easy task to satisfy his readers, or indeed himself, by the method either of his selection or his detail. Villiers's unexampled exaltation, and exorbitant power; the extent of his concern in the highest matters of the State; the ardent character of his whole mind; and the remarkable termination of his life; are subjects for the largest canvas, and the boldest pencil; while his secret history as a courtier sinks into the effeminate delicacy of miniature, and requires numberless touches to complete a picture, full of interest in all its individual parts, however deficient in its proportions.

It was reported by those who envied his greatness that he was meanly descended, but the truth is that his family, originally of the county of Nottingham, had been seated for four centuries before his birth among the best gentry, "rather indeed," as Sir Henry Wotton observes, "without obscurity than with any great lustre," at Brokesby, in Leicestershire, where he was born on the twenty-eighth of August, 1592. His father, Sir George Villiers, Knight, having had two sons by a former wife, married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, a younger brother of the ancient and still flourishing House of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the same county, and George was the second, or, as some say, the youngest of the three sons of that match. With little hope therefore even of a decent patrimony, he was sent, at ten years old, to a school at Billesden, in the neighbourhood of his parents, where, to use again the singular words of Wotton, "he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age, when his father died." He was afterwards long instructed at home in dancing, fencing, and all the qualifications of a courtier, in which character it seems to have been rather the wish than the expectation of his parents that he might be sometime placed; and then passed three years in France, from whence he returned exact to perfection in every accomplishment which could be bestowed by an education from which all that we are used to call learning seems to have been utterly excluded.

He loitered away yet another year in his mother's house in the country before any plan could be devised for his future life, when meeting with the daughter of Sir Roger Aston, a Scotsman, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Master of the Robes, to the King, they conceived a mutual affection for each other, and he followed her to London. "The gentlewoman loved him so well," says Welden, "as, could all his friends have made, for her great fortune, but an hundred marks jointure, she had married him presently, in despite of all her friends, and no question would have had him without any jointure at all." It is said, however, probably more truly, that he was dissuaded from the match by Sir James Graham, another minor courtier, who, discerning in him all the qualities which were likely to succeed there, "encouraged him," as Wotton tells us, "to woo fortune in the Court." He attached himself therefore to that gentleman, and accompanied him shortly after in a progress which the King made through the midland counties, and at Apethorpe, in Northamptonshire, James first saw him.

GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Among the many follies of that royal paradox, his admiration of an agreeable exterior was perhaps the most remarkable. Homely in his own person, and even vulgar in his manners, he was delighted, almost to fascination, by a fine figure and countenance, and a graceful carriage. Villiers excelled in all, and the constant and precise agreement of the many who have described his sudden advancement leaves us no room to doubt that he owed it solely to those qualifications. The King imparted to Graham, with strict injunctions of secrecy, his intention to bestow on this young man the place of favourite, which indeed at that time was to be found in the establishment of almost every monarch, together, to quote Wotton once more, "with directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour."

James, however, was too impatient to wait the progress of his own arrangement. He commanded that Villiers should be sworn his servant, and gave him the office of Cupbearer; within a few weeks after, on the twenty-third of April, 1615, appointed him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and settled on him an annual pension of one thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards: and, on the fourth of the following January, made him Master of the Horse, an office, before and since his time, always held by one of the prime nobility, and which the Earl of Worcester then resigned, at the King's instance, to make room for him. Such was the fortune of his first year. On the twenty-third of April, in the second, 1616, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and the next day named Justice of the Forests north of Trent; on the twenty-seventh of August created Baron Whaddon, at which time the King gave him the rich Lordship of that name in the county of Buckingham, and, very shortly after, Viscount Villiers; on the fifth of January, 1617, N.S. Earl, and on the first of the next January Marquis, of Buckingham. In the course of the same month, in the succeeding year, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Wales, and immediately after sworn of the Privy Council, and made Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle; and all this before he had reached the twenty-sixth year of his age. In the mean time dignities and wealth were showered with a most unexampled wantonness and profusion on all his kindred. His mother was created Countess of Buckingham; one of his two brothers Viscount Purbeck, and the other Earl of Anglesey; and Sir William Fielding, who had married his only sister, Earl of Denbigh. His brothers and sisters of the half blood were also ennobled or enriched; and even his most distant relations were provided for by advantageous marriages, or lucrative appointments. The ancient nobility, many of whom had in the beginning lent him their aid, for the sake of raising a rival to the favourite Somerset, now looked on in sullen silence, and the people, who in truth had little concern in the matter, murmured loudly.

Together with his great honours and employments, he possessed a control so unbounded over the King's inclinations that he became the sole dispenser of all royal favours; and, by a felicity perhaps not to be paralleled, was held at the same time in the most unlimited affection and confidence by the Heir Apparent. Their characters were in most respects widely dissimilar, but they agreed in a disposition to form strong attachments, and in that perfect frankness of sincerity which alone can maintain them. Charles's regard was therefore reciprocated by Villiers, and as it seems to have been the first real friendship felt by either of them, so it naturally became of the strongest, and most lasting order. Thence originated, among many other public matters perhaps of greater importance, the romantic journey to Spain, projected by Buckingham, with all the impetuosity that distinguished him, and most readily adopted by the Prince, in direct opposition to the King's declared judgment and inclination. Few historical events have been so frequently and so largely detailed. A negociation had long subsisted for the marriage of Charles to the Infanta of Spain, which these young statesmen resolved to supersede by presenting themselves, suddenly and unexpectedly, as private persons, to the most jealous and formal Court in Europe. They set out on the eighteenth of February, 1623, under the names of Jack and Tom Smith, with a single attendant, from Buckingham's lately purchased palace of Newhall, in Essex; passed the Thames near Gravesend, where, by idly giving a piece of gold to the boatman, they excited

a suspicion that they were persons of rank intending to cross the sea to fight a duel, and in consequence narrowly escaped being stopped at Rochester; were actually detained at Canterbury by the Mayor, to whom the Marquis was obliged to discover himself, taking off his false beard, and alledging, in his character of Lord Admiral, that he was going to take a secret view of the state of a fleet which was then equipping for the north seas; arrived in the evening at Dover, where they were joined by Sir Francis Cottington, and another, who had been sent to hire a vessel; and, embarking the next morning for Calais, on the twenty-first arrived at Paris, where Charles, standing among ordinary spectators in a balcony in the Court, first saw the beauteous Henrietta Maria, his future Queen.

At length they reached Madrid, and threw off their disguises in the house of the Earl of Bristol, the English Ambassador, who the next day notified to the King the arrival of his illustrious visitor. Charles was received with the most profound respect, and entertained with a long series of feasts and shows in the utmost degree of royal splendor, but permitted scarcely to see the fair object of his chivalrous enterprise. The Spaniards, conceiving naturally enough that he could have been tempted to undertake it only by an extravagant inclination to the match, laboured incessantly to induce him to purchase it by the sacrifice of his religion, and the Pope wrote to him at great length to the same effect, delaying his dispensation till he received Charles's answer, many passages in which gave great offence to the Protestants at home. In the mean time Villiers, who, during his absence, had been created Duke of Buckingham, and Earl of Coventry, quarrelled openly with the Count d'Olivares, then the Prime Minister and favourite of the King of Spain, and with the Earl of Bristol, and left the Court without the usual formalities, under the pretence of visiting a British fleet then in the Bay of Biscay; and became suddenly the greatest enemy to the match which he had so lately taken such extraordinary steps to forward. James, vexed by his importunities to break it off, and by the disgust conceived against it in England, as much on the score of the vast expense of the journey as from the usual unpopular opinion of any connexion with Spain, found himself obliged to give way. The Prince, weary of the absence of his confidant, and of the new causes of delay which almost daily arose, determined to return, leaving in the hands of Bristol an instrument by which he bound himself to solemnize the marriage within fifteen days after the arrival of a second dispensation, which the death of Pope Gregory the fifteenth had rendered necessary. He joined his friend at St. Andero, and they arrived in London on the sixth of October, 1623. An express was dispatched the very next day to the Earl of Bristol to suspend all proceedings, and speedily followed by a positive demand of the aid of Spain to procure the restitution of the Palatinate, as a condition for the completion of the nuptials. This was angrily refused; and thus, chiefly through the rashness and levity of Buckingham, ended a treaty which had subsisted for seven years, and on which the eyes of all Europe had been bent with a peculiar attention and anxiety.

He was, immediately after his return, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton Court, but his favour with the King was now waning. James, passive as he was, had at length become impatient of rule, or was perhaps terrified at the serious perplexities with which Buckingham's imperiousness had surrounded him. The Duke, at the meeting of a new Parliament, which was called chiefly to consider of that great affair, stated at large, at a conference of the two Houses, the motives of the Prince's journey, and the circumstances which had consequently occurred, ascribing the miscarriage of the treaty to the duplicity of Spain, and to the misconduct of the Earl of Bristol; and told them, in the conclusion of his harangue, that the King had recalled that nobleman in order to subject him to a public inquiry, when in fact James had sent for him for the purpose of opposing his wisdom and his boldness to the intolerable insolence of Buckingham. Nothing could have mortified the King more effectually. His favourite had not only appealed from his opinion to that of the Parliament, of which James, and with good reason, was already abundantly jealous, but had aimed at, and indeed suddenly acquired, a great degree of popularity with that body. But this was not all. He availed himself instantly of this disposition in the Parliament to ruin the Treasurer Cranfield, who, during his absence in Spain,

had repeatedly ventured to expostulate with him on the endless calls for money which had arisen from that expedition, as well as to give his advice independently to the King on important matters of state. Cranfield and Bristol were impeached in the House of Commons, and the former, as may be seen more at large elsewhere in this work, was imprisoned, and enormously fined: but Bristol, a man of a lofty spirit, and undoubted integrity, exhibited a countercharge of high treason against the Duke, and so saved himself from punishment, though not from disgrace. Buckingham's last act of dominion over his absurdly indulgent master presently followed. James was forced by him to declare war against Spain, and died almost immediately after. Some faint rumour was raised that his death was purposely accelerated by a certain plaister applied to his breast by the Duke's direction, but the imputation has been spurned at by all creditable writers. If Buckingham shortened his life, it was by the slow poison of ingratitude.

The accession of Charles not only renewed, but increased, the measure of his favour. It had been expected, and very reasonably, that the Prince, on succeeding to the sovereign rule, would have abridged the extent of his power. The politicians trusted for this to the cool and sober judgment which they knew his Majesty to possess: the courtiers, and other high-spirited men, to his resentment; for Buckingham's insolence to him was notorious, and it was no secret that he had even lifted his hand against Charles, on some dispute in a game of tennis, to strike him with a racquet: the people, always judging kindly, when they are allowed to judge for themselves, conceived that the King had endured him out of a dutiful respect to James's foibles, and would now give him up. All, however, were disappointed. "The new King," says Lord Clarendon, "from the death of the old even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to, him that ever King had shewed to any subject: all preferments in Church and State given by him: all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, that he thought fit; and all his enemies and envyers discountenanced as he appointed." The Parliament, however, at least the new House of Commons, shewed a very different disposition. They declared against the war with Spain; refused the supplies necessary to maintain it; and grounded their denial on their sense of the Duke's misconduct in that country. Not content with this, they sifted the whole of his public life with the utmost asperity, and not only censured him by several distinct votes, but even carried up remonstrances against him to the Throne. Charles was unhappily prevailed on by him to dissolve that Parliament, as well as the next, which had proceeded against him on the old ground of the Earl of Bristol's impeachment. Plans to raise money, the legality of which was justly doubted, were now instituted, and hence originated that long scene of misery in which the Crown and the Parliament, inseparable supports to each other, crumbled into ruins, together with the happiness and the interests of the people.

While these matters were agitated, a treaty, which had been commenced before the late King's death, for the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the fourth of France, was concluded, and Buckingham was sent, in May, 1625, with great pomp, to Paris, to escort the Princess to England. Here again, as at Madrid, the turbulence of his passions produced an unhappy public effect. "He had the ambition," as Lord Clarendon informs us, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with the most importunate addresses, insomuch as when the King (of France) had brought his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, upon the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception, and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger: but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France; and from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and nation." So deep and lasting a resentment, arising from such a cause, has been perhaps unheard of. The great historian

goes on to say that he was ever after unceasingly assiduous in his encouragement of all who were most obnoxious to the King of France, against whom he lost no opportunity of incensing his own Sovereign; and that he took great pains to lessen Charles's affection to his young and beautiful Queen; and even brought himself, contrary to his nature, to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards her: of which the Earl gives this most remarkable anecdote in proof—One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shewn some disrespect to his mother, he came into her presence with much passion, and, after some very uncivil expostulations, told her that she should repent it; to which her Majesty answering with some quickness, he desired her to recollect that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads.

In the gratification of this unreasonable spirit of vengeance he persuaded Charles, within little more than a year after his nuptials, to declare war against France, and took on himself the chief command, both by land and sea. He sailed on the twenty-seventh of June, 1626, with ten men of war, and a multitude of other ships, having on board a land force of seven thousand men, with the view first of relieving the huguenot town of Rochelle, which, in its dread of offending France past forgiveness, at that time declined his aid. He then attacked the Isle of Rhe, in its neighbourhood, which was strongly fortified: and, after five months spent in ineffectual endeavours, sometimes beaten, sometimes tricked, and always unsuccessful; and having lost between two and three thousand men, and forty colours; returned with the reputation of total military incapacity. Charles, however, received him with unabated grace and affection, but the popular outcry was excessive, and, in a Parliament, which had been lately called, the House of Commons declared him to have been the cause of all the evils and dangers under which the King, and the Kingdom, suffered. In the mean time a second fleet sailed to the same coast, which was intrusted to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Denbigh, and which had no better success. A third expedition was presently after undertaken, now at the request of the Rochellers, which the Duke, anxious to retrieve the reputation which he had lately lost in the same service, again resolved to command in person, and in August, 1628, arrived at Portsmouth, to prepare for his embarkation.

On the twenty-third of that month, having just risen, and proceeding to the apartment in which his breakfast was prepared, accompanied by the Duke de Soubise, and several English and French officers, he was stabbed to the heart by an unknown person, at the very moment that the hangings were held up to admit him into the room. He drew out the knife from the wound, and, uttering only the words—"The villain hath killed me," was dead in an instant. No one saw the stroke. The French who were near him, and speaking with the usual vehemence and action of their country, were for a moment in some danger, for those who understood not the language suspected that the conversation was angry, and that some one of them was the assassin. Presently, however, a hat was found on the floor, in the lining of which a paper was sewed, containing a few lines of the declaration lately published against the Duke by the House of Commons. There could be no doubt that it belonged to the murderer. All was tumult and confusion. Several ran out of the house to seek him, naturally supposing that he had lost no time in attempting to escape; when one of them, seeing a man without a hat walking very composedly near the door, exclaimed—"Here is the fellow who killed the Duke;" and all crying out together—"Which is he?" the man answered, with the utmost calmness, "I am he;" and added, as some have said, recollecting the suspicion which had fallen on the French, "I am the man who did the deed—let no man suffer who is innocent." Many rushed on him to kill him, and he endeavoured to meet the thrusts of their swords; while others, with more presence of mind, protected him. He was at length seized unhurt. He was presently known to be John Felton, a man of good family in Suffolk, and a lieutenant in the army, who had served in the Isle of Rhe, where his captain had been killed; and it was rumoured that he had entertained a deep resentment against the Duke for having refused to promote him to the command of his company. But when order was sufficiently restored to admit of questioning him with some coolness, and he was asked how, and by whom, he had been instigated, he answered, with the greatest firmness, that no man living could have persuaded him to perpetrate the act, and that he

had imparted his intention to no one: that if his hat were sought for, they would find his motives written in it: that he had used that precaution under the impression that he should have been put to death instantly after he had killed the Duke: and that he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from so great an enemy. The whole kingdom was struck with horror at this dreadful assassination. Even the Duke's most bitter enemies deplored, or, in decency, affected to deplore it. England could not at that time furnish monsters sufficiently depraved to apologize for a frantic enthusiast who had murdered even a bad minister.

In considering the marvellous power and prosperity which waited on the Duke of Buckingham's career, as well as the manner of its termination, we may regard with diminished scorn the error of more simple ages, which usually ascribed such tides of good fortune, so suddenly and tragically turned, to I know not what bargains with supernatural agents, who were supposed to lease out terms of human felicity, and to deprive their tenants of all at a stipulated moment. Superstition, however, seems to have exhausted itself in recording an uncommon number of ominous facts which were thought to prognosticate his death. Among these, the story of the apparition of his father, Sir George Villiers, too remarkable to be here wholly unnoticed, and too tedious to be recited, has been told by Lord Clarendon with such seriousness of relation, and such circumstantial exactness, that, however lightly we may be inclined to think of it, there can be little doubt that his Lordship gave it full credit.

That great historian has left a character of the Duke, conceived in a spirit of candour so pure, and with such incomparable judgment, and delivered with such a simple grandeur and sweetness of expression, that it is scarcely less painful to be under the necessity of abridging it, than it would be to increase the imperfections of this little memoir by wholly suppressing it. "This great man," says Lord Clarendon, "was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts of a Court, and all the learning which is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who he knew would be always looked upon as the work of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that they were so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would: and it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation; and yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular: and when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, the low method of courts, that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him; and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity that the person found it in his power to receive satisfaction in the way he would choose for himself.

"His single misfortune was, which indeed was productive of many greater, that he never made a worthy and noble friendship with a man so near his equal that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions; which was partly the vice of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men, and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and (who) looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise,

as obligations to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not at first (that) which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least obstruction, from his setting out till he was as great as he could be: so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great; insomuch as he was, throughout his fortune, a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had. Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed that if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man that shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe; for he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing: and though he left a very great estate to his heirs, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two Kings, his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles; and the one as much above other men as the other was: and he considered it no otherwise than as their's, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of it. If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he is charged (and it is a weed, if a weed, apt to grow in the best soils), it doth not appear that it was in his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air; nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun, in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters."

The private life of the Duke of Buckingham, as indeed Lord Clarendon's character of him might incline us to expect, seems to have been nearly irreproachable. It has been objected against him, and strenuously denied, that his matrimonial infidelities were unbounded. It is however allowed by those who have so censured him that he was a tender and indulgent husband, and that his Duchess was the sole mistress of his heart. He bequeathed to her, for her life, all his mansion-houses, with a fourth part of his lands in jointure, and an absolute power to dispose of the whole of his personal estate. His affection to those of his own blood transported him, as we have seen, beyond all measures of prudence in their gratification. His magnificent and bounteous disposition made him, in spite of the deficiencies of his education, a patron of learning, and of the fine arts; among other proofs of which we find that he purchased at Antwerp a curious library of Arabic manuscripts, to present to the University of Cambridge, of which he was Chancellor; and formed a collection of pictures so superb, that for a very small part of them, which had been bought for him by Rubens, he paid ten thousand pounds. He possessed indeed a single piece, an Ecce Homo by Titian, for which the great collector, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had offered him seven thousand.

He married Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland of his family, and afterwards, to the great offence of Charles the first, wife of Randal M'Donnel, Marquis of Antrim. That lady brought him three sons; James, who died an infant; George, his successor, of whom hereafter; and Francis, who was slain by the rebels in a skirmish at Kingston on Thames, at the head of a troop which he had raised with the secret view of rescuing the King from Carisbrooke Castle. He left also one daughter, Mary, married, first, to Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who dying soon after, she took to her second husband James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox. The Duke of Buckingham lies buried on the north side of King Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Lucy Harington, Countels of Bedford.

From the original of Gerard Honthorst, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

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LUCY HARINGTON,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

The memory of this remarkable woman resides chiefly in the airy regions of poetry. Her character, through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued merely because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise by those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talents and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Granger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently, as in this instance, trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money; that "they, in return, were as lavish of their incense;" and that, "upon a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus." Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her "that fantastic lady;" charges her with vanity and extravagance; and speaks scornfully of the Earl, her husband, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, on their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is that they could not have cited a single fact in proof of their invectives.

She was the elder of the two daughters of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, by Anne, daughter, and sole heir, of Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Her only surviving brother, the friend and favourite of Henry Prince of Wales, in whom the title became extinct, dying unmarried six months after he had succeeded to it, she became heir, under a settlement made by him on his death-bed, to two-thirds of his great estates. He was probably the youngest, and she the first born, of a very numerous issue; for he had scarcely reached the twenty-second year of his age in 1613, when he died, and she had then been the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, for nearly nineteen years. She was married at Stepney, in Middlesex, on the twelfth of December, 1594, to that nobleman, who, on the third of May, 1627, left her a childless widow, in the uncontrolled possession of immense wealth. Her inclinations, which indeed had never been severely curbed by him, for he was an easy good-tempered man, were now indulged to the utmost. Her great ambition, as it is said, was to establish a character so rare in her day that it had not yet acquired a distinct denomination; the character, as we should now call it, of a woman of taste: but ambition, whose natural aim is at general admiration and respect, seeks them in the rooted prejudices of mankind, and not in the practice of untried novelties. Patronesses to authors were not wanting among the women of rank who were the Countess of Bedford's contemporaries, but their protection was almost exclusively enjoyed by scholars, and devout writers; her's was confined to poets. The management of the garden and the orchard was then no insignificant part of a lady's education, but its great object was the supply of the table, and its utmost refinement consisted in the composition of the winter sweet pot: she added the elegancies of fancy to the uses of horticulture, and may, perhaps with justice, be placed among the first improvers of the English pleasure garden. It may indeed be fairly presumed that she was mistress of both; for Sir William Temple, in his Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, celebrates her for projecting "the most perfect figure of a garden" that he had ever seen, at Moor Park, in Surrey, where she once resided; and an Italian, Giacomo Castelvetri, dedicated to her a treatise, which may be found in MS. in Sir Joseph Banks's

library, intituled "Brieve Racconto di tutte le Radici, du tutte l'Herbe, & di tutti Frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano." She was well read, at least, in the learned languages, and so were many other ladies of her time, but in her application of that accomplishment she was distinguished from all others—We have the same authority for both those assertions—Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to her as one skilled in ancient medals. Thus she may be said to have invented her occupations and her amusements. It is perhaps therefore that historians and biographers have passed her by in silence, and that poets have delighted to celebrate her. Let us hear them on her behalf.

Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days, has the following epistle to her.

"To the Lady LUCY, Countess of BEDFORD.

"Though Virtue be the same when low she stands
In th' humble shadows of obscurity,
As when she either sweats in martial bands,
Or sits in court clad with authority,
Yet, Madam, doth the strictness of her room
Greatly detract from her ability:
For, as inwall'd within a living tomb,
Her hands and arms of action labour not;
Her thoughts, as if abortive from the womb,
Come never born, though happily begot.
But where she hath, mounted in open sight,
An eminent and spacious dwelling got,
Where she may stir at will, and use her might,
There she is more herself, and more her own:
There, in the fair attire of honest dight,
She sits at ease, and makes her glory known:
Applause attends her hands; her deeds have grace;
Her worth new-born is strait as if full grown.

With such a godly and respected grace
Doth Virtue look that's set to look from high;
And such a fair advantage by her place
Hath state and greatness to do worthily;
And therefore well did your high fortunes meet
With her that, gracing you, comes grac'd thereby:
And well was let into a house so sweet,
So good, so fair, so fair so good a guest,
Who now remains as blessed in her seat,
As you are with her residency blest.
And this fair course of knowledge, whereunto
Your studies, learned Lady, are addrest,
Is th' only certain way that you can go
Unto true glory, to true happiness.
All passages on earth besides are so
Incumbred with such vain disturbances,
As still we lose our rest in seeking it,
Being deluded with appearances;
And no key had you else that was so fit
T' unlock that prison of your sex as this,
To let you out of weakness, and admit
Your powers into the freedom of that bliss
That sets you there, where you may oversee
This rolling world, and view it as it is,
And apprehend how th' out sides do agree
With th' inward, being of the things we deem,
And hold in our ill-cast accounts to be
Of highest value, and of best esteem:
Since all the good we have rests in the mind,
By whose proportions only we redeem
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do find
The measure of ourselves, and of our powers;
And all that happiness remains confin'd
Within the kingdom of this breast of our's;

Within whose bounds all that we look on flies
In other jurisdictions, other powers,
Out of the circuit of our liberties.

All glory, honour, fame, applause, renown,
Are not belonging to our royalties,
But t'others wills, wherein th'are only grown:
But that unless we find us all within,
We never can without us be our own;
Nor call it right our life that we live in,
But a possession held for others' use,
That seem to have more interest therein;
Which we do so dissever, part, traduce,
Let out to custom, fashion, and to show,
As we enjoy but only the abuse,
And have no other deed at all to show.
How oft are we constrained to appear
With other countenance than that we owe,
And be ourselves far off, when we are near!
How oft are we forc'd on a cloudy heart
To set a shining face, and make it clear,
Seeming content to put ourselves apart,
To bear a part of others' weaknesses!
As if we only were compos'd by art,
Not nature, and did all our deeds address
T' opinion, not t' a conscience, what is right,
As fram'd b' example, not advisedness,
Into these forms that entertain our sight.
And though books, Madam, cannot make thy min
(Which we must bring) apt to be set aright,
Yet do they rectify it in that kind,
And touch it so as that it turns that way
Where judgment lies: and though we cannot find
The certain place of truth, yet do they stay
And entertain us near about the same,
And give the soul the best delight that may
Encheer it most, and most our spirits inflame
To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends:
And therefore in a course that best became
The clearness of your heart, and best commends
Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way
That is on earth, that can true glory give,
By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live."

Among Ben Jonson's Epigrams we find three, the seventy-sixth, the eighty-fourth, and the ninety-fourth, inscribed to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The last was accompanied by a present of Donne's Satires.

76th. On Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" This morning, timely rapt with holy fire,
I thought to form unto my zealous muse
What kind of creature I could most desire
To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.
I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great:
I meant the day star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride:
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
Only a learned and a manly soul
I purpos'd her; that should with even pow'rs
The rock, the spindle, and the sheers, controul
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
My muse bade Bedford write, and that was she."

84th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Madam, I told you late, how I repented
I ask'd a Lord a buck, and he denied me:
And, 'ere I could ask you, I was prevented;
For your most noble offer had supplied me.
Straight went I home; and there, most like a poet,
I fancied to myself what wine, what wit,
I would have spent: how ev'ry muse should know it,
And Phœbus self should be at eating it.
O, Madam, if your grant did thus transfer me,
Make it your gift: see whither that will bear me."

94th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
Life of the muses' day, their morning star,
If works (not th' authors) their own grace should look,
Whose poems would not wish to be your book?
But these desir'd by you, the makers' ends
Crown with their own: rare poems ask rare friends.
Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
Their unavoided subject, fewest see:
For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,
But when they heard it tax'd took more offence.
They then that, living where the matter's bred,
Dare for these poems yet but ask, and read,
And like them too, must needfully, though few,
Be of the best, and 'mongst those best are you;
Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
The muses' ev'ning as their morning star."

Dr. Donne, the high character of whose mind, as well as the severe habits of his pen, must place him beyond any possible suspicion of mercenary motives, addressed several of his poems to her, and wrote an elegy on her death. An extract from one of them will suffice to shew his opinion of her talents.

To the Countess of Bedford.

" T' have written there, when you writ, seem'd to me
Worst of spiritual vices, simony;
And not t' have written then, seems little less
Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.
In this, my doubt I seem'd loath to confess;
In that, I seem'd to shun beholdingness.
But 'tis not so; nothing, as I am, may
Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.
Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,
By having leave to do so, than before.
Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shewn,
May I not yield, not gold, but coal or stone?
Temples were not demolish'd, though profane;
Here Peter Jove's, there Paul has Dian's fane:
So whether my hymns you admit or chuse,
In me you have hallowed a Pagan Muse,
And denizen'd a stranger, who, mistaught
By blamers of the times they marr'd, hath sought
Virtues in corners, which now bravely do
Shine in the world's best part, or all in you.
I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts
Suffers an ostracism, and departs.
Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go,
But whither, only knowing you, I know.
Your, or you virtue two vast uses serves,
It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

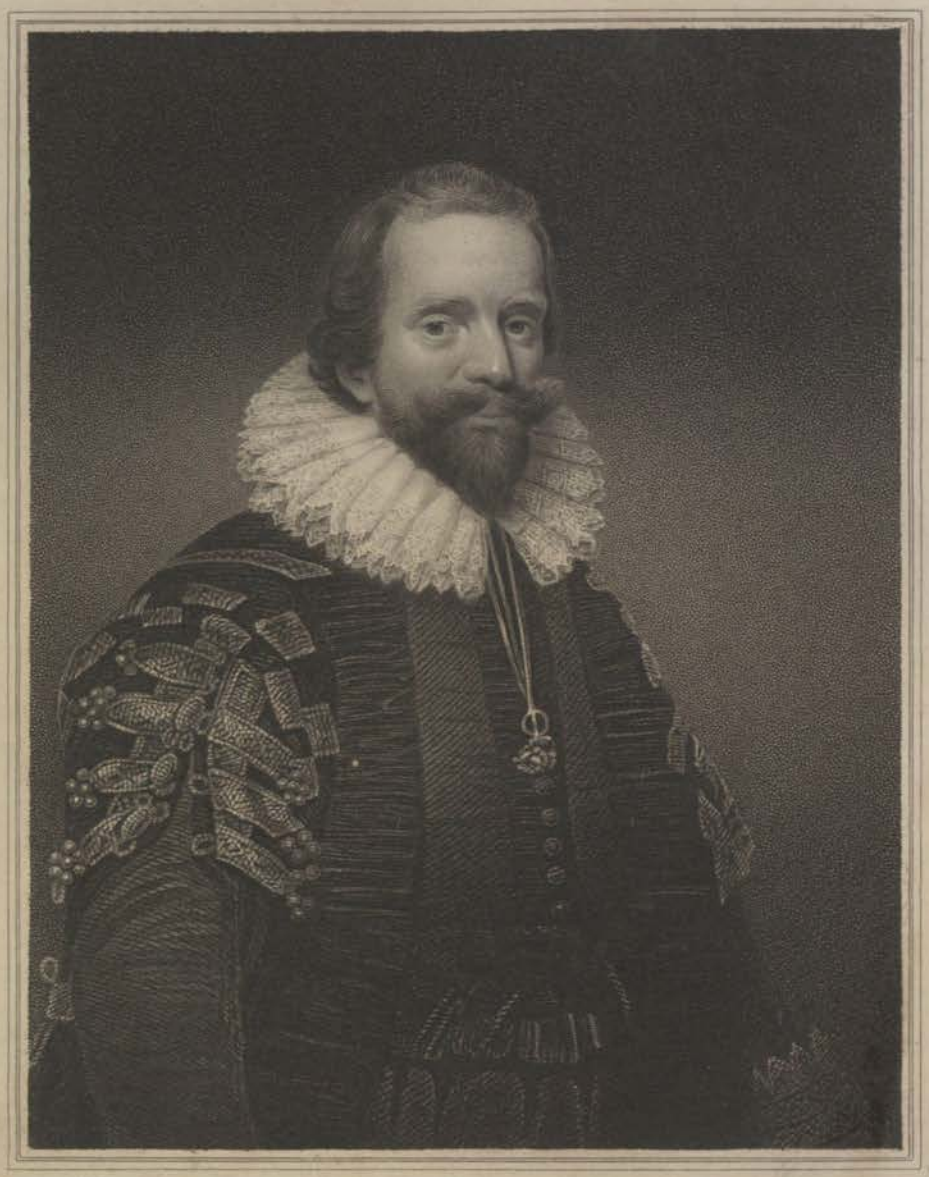
There's nothing but your worth, which being true,
Is known to any other, not to you:
And you can never know it; to admit
No knowledge of your worth, is some of it.
But since to you your praises discords be,
Stop other ills, to meditate with me.

Oh! to confess we know not what we should
Is half excuse, we know not what we would.
Lightness depresseth us, emptiness fills:.
We sweat, and faint, yet still go down the hills.
As new philosophy arrests the sun,
And bids the passive earth about it run,
So we have dull'd our mind; it hath no ends;
Only the body's busy, and pretends:
As dead low earth eclipses and controuls
The quick high moon, so doth the body souls.
In none but us are such mixt engines found
As hands of double office; for the ground
We till with them, and them to heav'n we raise:
Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
Does but one half; that's none: He which said "Plough,
And look not back," to look up doth allow.
Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys
The soil's disease, and into cockle strays.
Let the mind's thoughts be but translated so
Into the body, and bastardly they grow.
What hate could hurt our bodies like our love?
We, but no foreign tyrants, could remove
These not engrav'd, but inborn dignities;
Caskets of souls, temples and palaces:
For bodies shall from death redeemed be
Souls but preserved, not naturally free.
As men t' our prisons, new souls to us are sent,
Which learn it there, and come in innocent.

First seeds of every creature are in us.
Whate'er the world hath, bad or precious,
Man's body can produce. Hence it hath been
That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes, in man are seen:
But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,
That pearl, or gold, or corn, in man did grow?
We've added to the world Virginia, and sent
Two new stars lately to the firmament:
Why grudge we us, not heaven, the dignity
T' increase with our's those fair souls' company.
But I must end this letter; though it do
Stand on two truths, neither is true to you.
Virtue hath some perverseness, for she will
Neither believe her good, nor others' ill.
Even in your virtues' best paradise
Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.
Too many virtues, or too much of one,
Begets in you unjust suspicion:
And ignorance of vice makes virtue less;
Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.
But these are riddles; some aspersion
Of vice becomes well some complexion.
Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode
The bad with bad, a spider with a toad:
For so, ill thralls not them, but they tame ill,
And make her do much good against her will.
But in your commonwealth, or world in you,
Vice hath no office, or good work to do.
Take then no vicious purge, but be content
With cordial virtue, your known nourishment."

Even from the grave, which seldom flatters any but its inhabitants, arose her praises. In Twickenham Church, on the monument of her cousin, Bridget, Lady Markham, who died in 1609, we find an epitaph, remarkable enough in other respects, beginning thus—"Brigidæ lectissimæ, piissimæ, innocentissimæ, tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum fassæ quod mater fuit, cætera viri; quæ generi suo quo Jacob. Harringtoni, Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat. filia fuit itaque inclytæ Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod satis) sed et amicitiâ propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit splendoris," &c.

It would have been strange indeed had the Countess's pen been wholly unemployed, and indeed we find in the foregoing verses more than one allusion to her writings; but no relic perhaps is now to be discovered of her composition. It is equally extraordinary, and no pains have been spared in the search, that she should seem to have made no will. She is said to have spent immense sums, and it is well known that she sold much of the great inheritance which fell to her share, particularly the fine estate of Burleigh on the Hill, which was purchased of her by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who reared on it a noble mansion, which was destroyed during the grand rebellion, but much must still have remained with her. She survived the Earl her husband for many years, but the date of her death, and the place of her burial, are unknown. She has left, by a singular fatality, as it should seem, a splendid reputation, which can neither be supported nor depreciated by the evidence of historical facts.



Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.

From the original of Mytens, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Dorset.

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LIONEL CRANFIELD,

FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

To those, if such are still to be found, who would maintain that James the first either felt the dignity, or understood the interests, of royalty; or possessed the wisdom, or even the cunning, of a politician; it will be sufficient to answer that he advanced this person to the first post in his government, and nearly to the highest rank of the peerage, at the precise moment when the public respect to the aristocracy began evidently to fail, and when the aid of that body was more than ever necessary to the support of the throne. Lionel Cranfield was a man of such ordinary birth that even the names and stations of his parents have never yet been accurately published. Fuller, quoting too, in some very strange mistake, the register of the parish of St. Michael Basinghall, states him to have been the "son of Randal Cranfield, citizen, and Martha his wife, daughter to the Lady Denny, of Gloucestershire." Lloyd asserts, without the smallest foundation, that "his family was ancient in that county." And Dugdale, who, had he taken the trouble to consult the records of his own college, would have instantly discovered the truth, tells us no more than that his father was Thomas Cranfield, of London; to whose name however he wantonly adds the style of Esquire, a distinction which, so lately as in Dugdale's time, was very rarely abused by any. Even Lord Clarendon believed him to be well descended. The fact is, that he was the youngest of the two sons of Thomas Cranfield, a mercer of London, whose ancestors are utterly unknown, by Martha, daughter of Vincent Randall, who seems also to have been a tradesman of that city, though really of a gentleman's family. Armorial ensigns were granted by Camden, in 1613, to Lionel, and his elder brother, Randall.

Of his education we know nothing. The quaint Lloyd says that "he was his own tutor, and his own university;" and adds, in which Arthur Wilson and others agree, that he was bred in the Custom House, which he left for the mercantile profession; and a merchant he remained till he had nearly reached the fortieth year of his age. But he was a merchant of rare character; for, while he practised with industry the vulgar conduct of trade, he studied it as a science, and became master, if a noble term may be so applied without profanation, of the philosophy of commerce. Thus recommended, at a time when commercial revenue was in its infancy, and the necessities of the state and of the court at their utmost height, he was, by means till now unknown, brought to the notice of James the First, as a person likely to devise eligible projects to raise money. His introduction to that prince has been erroneously ascribed, owing probably to the hasty construction of a passage in Lord Clarendon's account of him, to Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham; but Cranfield was in some degree of favour before Villiers was even known to the King. Mr. John Chamberlaine, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated "London, July 8, 1613," says, "Sir Thomas Waller, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, is lately dead of a burning fever, and his place, they say, is bestowed upon one Sir Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of this town, of Ingram's profession, who is grown in great favour with the Lord Privy Seal, and rides ordinarily in his coach with him, and, by his means, was knighted on Sunday last." Howard, Earl of Northampton then, who at that time held the privy seal, and who was himself a projector, and a commercial theorist, was evidently Cranfield's first patron, and procured, or rather conferred on him, this his first appointment; for Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, was Governor of Dover Castle.

LIONEL CRANFIELD, FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

The commencement of Villiers's influence may be fixed with certainty to the spring of 1615, in the course of which year he leaped from the place of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the superb office of Master of the Horse, and within very few months after obtained the Garter and the Peerage. On the twentieth of November, 1616, Cranfield was appointed a Master of the Requests; soon after, Master of the King's great wardrobe; and on the fifteenth of January, 1618, Master of the Court of Wards. These important promotions he owed, in all probability, to Villiers; for, at some time within the period just now referred to, he had married a first cousin of that favourite, who was now Marquis of Buckingham. But Buckingham had other motives for befriending Cranfield. The pursuit of selfish views, like all other things, is subject to the fashion of the time, and opposite means, in politics as well as in morals, may produce the same effect. Ministers then sold favours, instead of purchasing them; and public employments, instead of being conferred as bribes, were obtained by bribery. In the Harleian MSS. No. 1581, is the following original letter to the Marquis, unluckily without date of the year, but doubtless soliciting some one, most probably the latter, of the appointments just mentioned.

My most honnored Lord,

I know yo^r^ power, and nothinge doubte yo^r^ ho^ble^ favour towardes me, but ther are so manye and so greate competitors for that I desire, and ther wilbe so greate meanes and greate offers made unto yow for it, that it wilbe a myracle in this fallce adge yf yow shalbe pleased to continewe constant to me, the first mover, and to whom yowr L^p^ was pleased, w^th^ a noble freenés, to engadge yo^r^ ho^ble^ worde, upon w^ch^ I do wholly relye. It is the place I onlye affecte, and in w^ch^ I desire to doe his Ma^tie^ service, w^ch^ shalbe with that faithfulnes and paynes executed, yf by yo^r^ ho^ble^ favor I may have it, as no man shall do better.

I have done the King many proffitable services, w^th^ hazard of my estate and lyfe, and no man hath beene more willinge to do yo^r^ Lo^p^ service then my selfe, for both w^ch^ I suffer, and have lost all other frends. Now, if ever, is the tyme for yo^r^ Lo^p^ to settle me, in despight of all my enemies, by letting me fynde the fruites of yo^r^ ho^ble^ favor in this perticuler, for w^ch^ yow shall ever com̃aund my estate and lyfe to do yow service. Besides, for the present, I will bringe to yo^r^ Lo^p^, to be disposed of at yo^r^ pleasure, fower thowsand pounds in golde, and yet will acknowledge yo^r^ favor to be such as I shall never be able to deserve. I am now upon the stadge for it, allthowghe I observed yo^r^ com̃aund most strictlye, so that I feare the contents of my former letter were discovered. To prevent the licke in this, I praye yo^r^ Lo^p^ after yow have reade it to burne it, and to wrighte me yo^r^ pleasure but in 3 lynes w^th^ yo^r^ own hande; for, as I have made no meanes but to yo^r^ ho^ble^ selfe imediately, so I humblye desire no creature lyvinge may be acquainted w^th^ what passeth, for I will w^th^ all willingnes subscribe to any conditions shalbe propounded, my humble suite now beinge no more but that by yo^r^ ho^ble^ favour I may be preferred before any other.

It is my misfortune to be stayed here upon the King's waightie buysines at this tyme when it were most fitt I should waight upon yo^r^ L^p^ to solicit yo^r^ favor about that w^ch^ above all thinges I desire; but within few dayes I shall waight upon yo^r^ L^p^ to give such an accompte of that imployment as I hope shalbe welcom to yo^r^ Honnor, and most acceptable to the Kinge; and therfore conclude my letter w^th^ this humble request; that yo^r^ L^p^ wilbe pleased to keepe the Kinge free of promis abowt it, and that yo^r^ L^p^ will stand no otherwise ingadged but for me, untill I come to the courte, w^ch^ shalbe within 3 or 4 dayes, at w^ch^ tyme I hope to give yo^r^ Honnor such content as yow shall thinck this ho^ble^ favor well bestowed. And so I humbly tacke leave, ever resting yo^r^ L^p^'s humble and faithfullest servant,

LIONELL CRANFELD.

London, the 28 Januarye.

He now rose with uncommon rapidity. On the fifth of January, 1620, he was sworn of the Privy Council; on the ninth of July, in the succeeding year, advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, in Bedfordshire; on the thirteenth of the following

October received the staff of Lord Treasurer; and on the sixteenth of September, 1622, was created Earl of Middlesex. He fell as suddenly. James, whom he really seems to have served faithfully as well as wisely, had become weary of the thraldom in which he was held by the imperious Buckingham, and sought relief in the boldness of Middlesex, who undertook to protect him. The favourite presently began to consider him as a rival; but we find nothing of treachery in the conduct of the Treasurer towards him, nor indeed much of ingratitude, for he had probably purchased most of his favours with money. Their quarrel began during Buckingham's absence with the Prince, in Spain. The expenses of that romantic expedition were enormous; the Exchequer was drained; and the Treasurer, honestly enough, as it should seem, had counselled frugality. In an original letter from him to Buckingham, No. 1581, in the Harleian papers, and in an extract from another, we find hints to that effect, as well as of their incipient division.

" My most honnored Lord,

I wrott unto yow some 10 dayes synce, w^th^ an intendment to have sent it by my Lord of Leppington, but, he being wynde bound, I send it by this bearer. Synce the wrighting whereof the certeyne newes of the Prynce's salffe aryvall, and yo^r^ Lo^ps^, at the court of Spayne, w^th^ yo^r^ royall intretaynement, and the content the Prynce tacketh in his Prynces, hath overjoyed the Kinge, and all honest well affected subjectes; for the ladye givinge his Highnes contentment is of more consequens, and more to be respected, then ten tymes her portion; for his Highnes beinge pleased in her, all compforts and blessings will followe them both, w^ch^ God in m̃cye grant, and send a happy and speedy conclusion.

The shippes wilbe all redy to sett sale by the last of Aprill next, for the monye to sett them forth is allredy paid. I was never put to such a plunge for m̃onye, the som beinge so greate, and to be all disbursed so suddeynlye. I hope the Prynce, w^th^ his ladye, wilbee as forward, w^ch^ I beseech yo^r^ L^p^ by all meanes hasten, for it is not fytt, nor wilbe salffe, that the Prynce, and the strengthe of the kingdome, w^ch^ are the shippes, should be longe owt of the kingdome together, espetially considering so manye of his Ma^tie's^ subjectes are ill affected to the buyssines. I hope yo^r^ L^p^ will not forgett the monye. I knowe not whether the necessetye or the expectation of it are greater. I beseeche yo^r^ L^p^ tacke care of it, as a thinge of mayne importance.

The clowdes w^ch^ beganc to gather upon the Pryne's dep̃ture, and yo^r^ L^ps^, are, upon this last newes of yo^r^ salffe aryvall, and royall intretaynement at the court of Spayne, much dispersed; but of those passag̃s heraftr, when I shalbe so happy to see yow; in the meane tyme, blesse God for having a most constant and gracious maister.

There is now an excesse of kyndnesse between the Lady my wyffe and myselffe, and hope it shall not be in the power of the Dyvell himselffe ever to macke it otherwyse heraftr; and yett I assure yo^r^ L^p^ those evill spiritts that weare very active at Christmas to devyde yo^r^ L^p^ and mee are not yet quiett, but have been more buyssye then ever synce yo^r^ dep̃ture: But I laughe, and skorne the basenesse and poorenes of their plotts, and so will yo^r^ L^p^ when I shall acquaint yow w^th^ them; and therfore I beseech yo^r^ L^p^ to rest confident that my love and thanckfullnes to yow, althowghe they bee worthe nothinge more then yow shalbe pleased to vallewe them, are so rooted as they cannot be shacken; no, not by that damned feinde jelosye, w^ch^ hathe so often undermyned the p̃fectest love, and intirest freindship. And so, w^th^ my humble and hartie love and service, I rest yo^r^ L^ps^ faythfullest freind and servant, and loving kynsman,

MIDDELSEX."

Chelsey, this 30^th^ March, 1623.

And in another letter, dated from Chelsea, on the third of May following, he says, " The fleet is redy to tacke the first wynde: God grant yow maye be as redy there. I praye yo^r^ L^p^ to be as sparinge in the matter of chardges as the honnor of the service will permitt, for never man was so putt to it to provyde mony as myselfe am at this instant. And I beseeche yo^r^ L^p^

to tacke espetiall care to bringe as much of the portion in mony w^th^ the fleete as is possible. I dare not wrighte how much it will concerne the Kinge."

Lord Clarendon, having stated the circumstances of his elevation, speaks thus of his fall. "He had gained so much credit with the King, being in truth a man of great parts, and notable dexterity, that, during the Duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the King, whose ear was always inclined to him, and in whom he begun to believe himself so far fastened that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others, who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known for so much their inferior, though it could not be denied that he filled the places he held with great abilities."

"The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same, and in as high a station: and so he easily procured some leading men in the House of Commons to cause an impeachment, for several corruptions and misdemeanors, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which, besides their natural inclination to that sort of correction, disposed them with great alacrity to this prosecution. When it was first entered upon, and that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by the Duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the Prince to be well pleased with it, his Majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it, and conjured them to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the Crown that would not be easily healed. And when he found the Duke unmoved by all the considerations, and arguments, and commands, he had offered, he said, in great choler, "By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself:" and turning, in some anger, to the Prince, told him he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments: and, "When I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown by the two precedents you are now so fond of;" intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex. But the Duke's power, supported by the Prince's countenance, was grown so great in the two houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so, notwithstanding so good a defence made by the Earl that he was absolved from any notorious crime by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the evidence, he was at last condemned to a great fine, to a long and strict imprisonment, and never to sit in parliament during his life; a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of parliament, and, in truth, not to be inflicted on any Peer but by attainder."

This severe sentence was passed on him in the winter of 1624. His fine, twenty thousand pounds, was paid, in great part, by transfer of estates to the crown; and it has been said that Buckingham descended to accept the Earl's house and grounds at Chelsea, which was his favourite residence, as a gift from the King; but Wilson, who is too often a slanderer, and from whom other writers have derived the tale, merely says that it was so reported; and Welden, who delighted in vilifying the Duke, does not mention it. Middlesex, after his enlargement, retired to his fine seat of Copt-hall, in Essex, where, says Fuller, "he enjoyed himself contentedly, entertained his friends bountifully, his neighbours hospitably, and the poor charitably." There is good reason indeed to believe that no public man of his time was more beloved. He seems to have been blessed with a frankness and generosity of temper which neither mercantile selfishness nor ministerial caution could chill; and a liveliness of humour, not to say wit, adorned his conversation. One of his table jests has escaped ob-

livion. A question having arisen on the best means of prolonging human life, he said, "Let a man get himself appointed Lord Treasurer, for no one ever died in that office." He amused himself in the earlier part of his life with poetical composition, of which too a single specimen remains, which, at the worst, entitles him to the reputation of a smooth versifier. "The following mock-commendatory verses, by this nobleman," says the ingenious editor of Lord Orford's Noble Authors, "were prefixed in 1611 to the Travels, or Crudities, of Tom Coryat, "the whetstone of all the wits;" who must have been stimulated by a preposterous species of vanity to publish so many ludicrous lampoons upon himself, before his book."

"Great laude deserves the author of this worke,
Who saw the French, Dutch, Lombard, Jew, and Turke,
But speakes not any of their tongues as yet,
For who in five months can attaine to it?
Short was his time, although his booke be long,
Which shewes much wit, and memory more strong—
An yron memory—for who but he
Could glue together such a rhapsodie
Of pretious things, as towers, steeples, rocks,
Tombes, theaters, the gallowes, bels, and stocks,
Mules, asses, arsenals, churches, gates, and townes,
The Alpine mountaines, cortezans, and Dutch clownes?
What man before hath writ so punctually,
To his eternall fame, his journey's story?
And as he is the first that I can finde,
So will he be the last of this rare kinde.
Me thinks, when on his booke I cast my eies,
I see a shop replete with merchandize;
And how the owner, jelous of his fame,
With pretious matter garnisheth the same.
Many good parts he hath; no man too much
Can them commend; some few I'le only touch
He Greeke and Latin speakes with greater ease
Than hogs eate akornes, or tame pigeons pease.
His ferret eies doe plod so on his booke,
As makes his lookes worse then a testie cooke.
His tongue and feete are swifter then a flight,
Yet both are glad when day resignes to night.
He is not proud; his nature softe and milde;
His complements are long; his lookes are wilde:
Patient enough, but, oh! his action
Of great effect to move and stirre up passion.
Odcombe, be proud of thy odde Coryate,
Borne to be great, and gracious with the state.
How much I him well wish let this suffice.
His booke best shewes that he is deeply wise."

Explicit LIONEL CRANFIELD.

He was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shepherd, a merchant of London, who brought him three daughters; Martha, wife of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth; Elizabeth, of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave; and Mary, who died unmarried. His second lady was Anne, daughter of James Bret, of Howby, in Leicestershire, by Anne his wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, and sister to Mary, wife of Sir George Villiers, the father and mother of the great George, Duke of Buckingham. By her he had two sons, and one daughter. James, his successor, who, by his wife Anne, daughter and coheir of Edward Bourchier, Earl of Bath, left an only daughter, who was married to John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater. Lionel, who succeeded to his brother James, and in whom, dying without issue, the titles became extinct. And Frances, who became therefore heir to his estates, and who married Richard Sackvile, fifth Earl of Dorset, in whose eldest son and successor, Charles, the titles of Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex were revived in 1675, during the life of his father. As little is known of extinct peerages, I have given the genealogical account of this family rather more at large than usual.

The Earl of Middlesex survived his disgrace, if the suffering a punishment of enormous severity for misdemeanors so trivial that history has forborne to particularize them may be so called, for more than twenty years. He died on the sixth of August, 1645, and was buried in St. Michael's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, under a superb tomb of black and white marble, with a long inscription in Latin (of which very erroneous transcripts have been given in Dugdale's Baronage, and by Dart, in his history of the Abbey), alluding to his prosecution, and asserting his innocence.

Anne Hyde, Duchess of York.

From the original of Sir Peter Lely, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon.

Drawn by H. Crease, & Engraved (with Permission) by J. C. Agar

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ANNE HYDE,

DUCHESS OF YORK.

This lady, whom an accident of passion placed so near to a throne, and who gave birth to two sovereigns, whose reigns form perhaps the most brilliant, at least the most remarkable epoch in our history, was the eldest of the two daughters of that wise and virtuous Chancellor, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, by Frances, daughter, and at length heir of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Knight and Baronet, a Master of the Requests in the reign of Charles the First. The circumstances relating to her marriage with the Duke of York, afterwards our James the Second, form nearly the whole of her story; for though she possessed a proud spirit, and a powerful understanding, she seems neither to have aspired to any open influence on state affairs, nor to have mixed in the political intrigues which so eminently distinguished her time. So too in her private life we meet but with passing rumours of the usual errors of a woman of much beauty, and strong passions, raised suddenly to unexpected elevation—of those domestic extravagances, which, by destroying the peace, and distracting the interests, of illustrious families, render their memoirs delightful to posterity.

James himself speaks thus of her, and of their marriage, in the very curious memoirs of his own life, preserved in the Scotch College at Paris, numerous extracts from which may be found in Macpherson's fine Collection of Original Papers. Those memoirs, in which he always mentions himself in the third person, place the character of that unfortunate and imprudent Prince in a more advantageous light than popular prejudice had before allowed to fall on it, and there can be little doubt of their truth and sincerity. "When his sister, the Princess Royal," says he, "came to Paris, to see the Queen Mother, the Duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour. Beside her person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his; which she managed so well, as to bring his passion to such a height, as between the time he first saw her, and the winter before the King's restoration, he resolved to marry none but her, and promised her to do it; and though at first, when the Duke asked the King, his brother, for his leave, he refused, and dissuaded him from it, yet at last he opposed it no more, and the Duke married her privately; owned it some time after; and was ever after a true friend to the Chancellor." He says, in another place, that "her want of birth was made up by endowments, and her carriage afterwards became her dignity."

Lord Clarendon, in his own life, naturally enough enlarges widely on a subject so important and so dear to him. He tells us that James disclosed the fact of his private marriage to the King immediately after the restoration; informed him that the Duchess was with child; and besought his brother to suffer him to marry her publicly. Charles, whose indolent good temper nothing could ruffle, listened patiently, and even kindly, to the news, and sent the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Southampton, two of the Chancellor's dearest friends, to break the matter to him; for he declares, and his veracity has never been doubted, that he had not the smallest suspicion of it. The temper in which he received it will best appear from his own words—"He broke out into immoderate passion against his daughter; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." And, on their assuring him that she was married to the Duke, he fell into yet greater passion, and exclaimed that "he had rather his daughter should be the Duke's whore than his wife: that, in the former case, no one could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not

obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive, and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God; but, if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, in which he hoped the King would concur with him —that the King should immediately cause the woman to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head; to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it: and whoever knew the man, concludes the Chancellor, still speaking of himself, will believe that he said all this very heartily." Bishop Burnet, who detested James, and whose word should always be taken with caution where his passions were concerned, says, rather obscurely, that " she, being with child, called on the Duke to own the marriage, and managed the matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her, and that he thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatenings, but she was a woman of great spirit, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased."

Charles, who certainly had a great affection for his brother, and perhaps little less for the Chancellor, so far from testifying any displeasure, amiably placed himself as a mediator among the parties; but new difficulties presently arose, which even his power could not compose. The Queen Mother, enraged to the utmost, wrote to him from Paris, to inform him that she should instantly set out for England, to do all she could to prevent such a dishonour to the crown. She came, and James, whose conduct in his trying situation seems, in spite of the report of Burnet, to have hitherto been equally firm and honourable, was weak enough to deny his marriage to his mother. In the mean time a party in the Duke's family, headed by Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, a man whose heroic exit afterwards somewhat atoned for a vile life, availed themselves of these dissensions, in the hope of working the downfall of the Chancellor. Their envy and malice had been raised to the highest pitch, by new favours lately conferred on him by the King; for Charles, eager to testify his determination to protect his old and faithful servant, had created him a Baron, and added to that dignity a grant of twenty thousand pounds, in the midst of the confusion occasioned at court by the disclosure of the marriage. They contrived to convey indirectly to James the most injurious reports of the Duchess's conduct previously to her union with him; and he, having easily discovered the authors, resolved to examine them personally. The detail of his intercourse with them, and its consequences, is to be met with only in the Memoires de Grammont, and is given with an ease and vivacity which will render any apology unnecessary, either for quoting the very words of the original, or for the length of the extract.

" Au milieu de ces différentes agitations, il s'ouvrit a Milord Falmouth, et le consulta sur le parti qu'il devoit prendre. Il ne pouvoit mieux s'addresser pour ses interêts, ni plus mal pour Mademoiselle Hyde. Falmouth lui soûtint d'abord, non seulement qu'il n'étois pas marié, mais qu'il etoit impossible qu'il y eut jamais songé: qu'un mariage etoit nul pour lui sans le consentement du Roi, quand même le parti se fût trouvé d'ailleurs sortable; mais que c'etoit une mocquerie de mettre en jeu la fille d'un petit avocat, que la faveur du Roi venoit de faire Pair du royaume sans noblesse, et Chancelier sans capacité: qu'à l'égard de ses scrupules il n'avoit qu'a vouloir bien écouter de gens qui l'instruiroient à fond de la conduite que Mademoiselle Hyde avoit tenue avant qu'il la connût, et que pourvû qu'il ne leur dit point que la chose fût déjà faite, il auroit bien tôt de quoi le determiner. Le Duc d'York y consentit, et Milord Falmouth, ayant assemblé son conseil et ses temoins, les mena dans le cabinet de son Altesse, après les avoir instruits de ce qu'on leur vouloit. Ces messieurs étoient le Comte d'Arran, Germain, Talbot, et Killigrew, tous gens d'honneur, mais qui préféroient infiniment celui du Duc d'York a celui de Mademoiselle Hyde, et qui de plus étoient révoltés, avec toute la cour, contre l'insolente autorité du premier ministre.

" Le Duc leur ayant dit, apres une espece de préambule, que quoiqu'ils n'ignorassent pas sa tendresse pour Mademoiselle Hyde, ils pouvoient ignorer à quels engagemens cette tendresse l'avoit porté: qu'il se croyoit obligé de tenir toutes les paroles qu'il avoit pû lui donner; mais que comme l'innocence des personnes de son âge étoit exposé d'ordinaire aux

médisances d'une cour, et que de certains bruits, faux ou veritables, s'étoient répandus au sujet de sa conduite, il les prioit comme amis, et leur ordonnoit par tout ce qu'ils lui devoient, de lui dire sincerement ce qu'ils en savoient, d'autant qu'il etoit résolu de régler sur leurs témoignages les desseins qu'il avoit pour elle. On se fit un peu tirer l'oreille d'abord, et l'on fit semblant de n'oser prononcer sur une matière si sérieuse et si délicate; mais le Duc d'York ayant réitéré ses instances, chacun se mit à deduire par le menu ce qu'il savoit, et peut-être ce qu'il ne savoit pas, de la pauvre Hyde. On y joignit toutes les circonstances qu'il falloit pour appuyer les temoignages. Par exemple, le Comte d'Arran, qui parla le premier, déposa que dans la galerie de Honslaerdyk, ou la Comtesse d'Ossory, sa belle sœur, et Germain, jouoient un jour aux quilles, Mademoiselle Hyde avoit fait semblant de se trouver mal, et s'étoit retirée dans une chambre au bout de la galerie; que lui, deposant, l'avoit suivie, et que lui ayant coupé son lacet, pour donner plus de vraisemblance aux vapeurs, il avoit fait de son mieux pour la secourir, ou pour la desennuyer. Talbot dit qu'elle lui avoit donné un rendez-vous dans le cabinet du Chancelier, tandis qu'il étoit au Conseil, à telles enseignes que n'ayant pas tant d'attention aux choses qui etoient sur la table; qu'à celle qui les occupoient alors, ils avoient fait répandre toute l'encre d'une bouteille sur une dépêche de quatre pages; et que le singe du Roi, qu'on accusoit de ce désordre, en avoit été long-tems en disgrace."

" Germain indiqua plusieurs endroits où il avoit eu des audiences longues et favorables; cependant tous ces chefs d'accusation ne vouloient que sur quelques tendres privautés, ou tout au plus, sur ce qu'on appelle le menus plaisirs d'un commerce; mais Killigrew, voulant rencherir sur ces foibles dépositions, dit tout net qu'il avoit eu l'honneur de ses bonnes graces. Il avoit l'esprit vif et badin, et savoit donner un tour agréable à ses récits par des figures gracieuses et sensible. Il assura qu'il avoit trouvé l'heure du berger dans un certain cabinet construit au-dessus de l'eau à toute autre fin que d'être favorable aux empressemens amoureux; qu'il avoit eu pour témoins de son bonheur trois ou quatre cygnes, qui pouvoient bien avoir été témoins du bonheur de bien d'autres dans ce même cabinet, vû qu'elle y alloit souvent, et qu'elle s'y plaisoit fort."

" Le Duc d'York trouva cette derniere accusation outrée, persuadé qu'il avoit par devers lui des preuves suffisantes du contraire. Il remercia messieurs les témoins a bonne fortune de leur franchise; leur imposa silence à l'avenir sur ce'quils venoient de lui déclarer; et passa dans l'appartement du Roi. Dés qu'il fut dans son cabinet Milord Falmouth, qui l'avoit suivi conta ce qui venoit de se passer au Comte d'Ossory, qu'il trouva chez le Roy. Ils se doutérent bien de ce qui faisoit la conversation des deux freres, car elle fut longue. Le Duc d'York en sortant paru tellement émû qu'ils ne douterent point que tout n'allat mal pour la pauvre Hyde. Milord Falmouth commençoit à s'attendrir de sa disgrace, et se repentoit un peu de la part qu'il y avoit eue, lorsque le Duc d'York lui dit de se trouver, avec le Comte d'Ossory, chez le Chancelier dans une heure."

" Ils furent un peu surpris qu'il eût la dureté d'annoncer lui-meme cette accablante nouvelle. Ils trouverent a l'heure marquée son Altesse dans la chambre de Mademoiselle Hyde. Ses yeux paroissoient mouillés de quelques larmes, qu'elle s'efforçoit de retenir. Le Chancelier, appuyé contre la muraille, leur parut bouffi de quelque chose. Ils ne doutérent point que ce fut de rage et de desespoir. Le Duc d'York leur dit, de cet air content et serein dont on annonce les bonnes nouvelles—" Comme vous etes les deux hommes de la cour que j'estime du plus, je veux que vous ayez les premiers l'honneur de saluer la Duchesse d'York—la voila."

" La surprise ne servoit de rien, et l'étonnement n'etoit pas de saison dans cette conjoncture. Ils en etoient pourtant si remplis, que pour s'en cacher ils se jetérent promptement à genoux, pour baiser la main; qu'elle leur tendit avec autant de grandeur et de majesté que si de sa vie elle n'eût fait autre chose."

Lord Clarendon informs us that Falmouth afterwards confessed fully to James the falsehood of all the charges which had been thus made by himself and his conspirators, and received the Duke's pardon. From that ill-judged lenity perhaps, as well as from the slander itself, other gallantries were subsequently ascribed to the Duchess. Grammont, an elegant

profligate, living in the most profligate court in Europe, speaks largely of a supposed intrigue with Sidney, a younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and a gentleman of the Duke's bedchamber, and tells us that she went to York in 1664, that she might receive his addresses with the more convenience and privacy; and Burnet adds, that the Duke discovered the amour, and dismissed Sidney with such precipitation and anger that the whole became entirely public; but a passage in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs tends greatly to invalidate these reports, and indeed expressly contradicts one of them. "His Royal Highness the Duke, and his Duchess," says Reresby, whose candour is invariable, "came down to York in August, where it was observed that Mr. Sidney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the Duke's bedchamber, was greatly in love with the Duchess; and indeed he might be well excused, for the Duchess, daughter to Chancellor Hyde, was a very handsome personage, and a woman of fine wit. The Duchess, on her part, seemed kind to him, but very innocently; but he had the misfortune to be banished the court afterwards, for another reason, as was reported." Burnet, however, who seems to have delighted in drawing false conclusions from false premises, makes use of this rumour to introduce a long paragraph of disgusting scandal against James, whose debaucheries, he tells us, shortened the lives of the Duchess, and of most of her children, and poisoned the constitutions of the two who survived infancy; and, not contented with this, affects to trace the venom to its very source, by minutely relating the circumstances of a filthy tale, which may be found in his memoirs of the year 1665. He tells us also, with equal improbability, that the Duchess, through the discovery of her amour with Sidney, lost the influence which she had over her husband, and that, in the hope of regaining it by flattering his religious prejudices, she determined to embrace the Roman Catholic profession; and this brings us to one of the most important points of her story.

She had been bred a Protestant, with much strictness, and had always the reputation of a perfect sincerity in that persuasion; but it was observed for many months before her death that she had not, as usual, received the Sacrament, and that she frequently apologized in conversation for many of those doctrines of the Romish Church which are the most strenuously opposed by the Church of England. At length, on the twentieth of August, 1670, she signed, and, as it should seem, in a great measure published, a paper declaring her reconciliation to the ancient religion, in terms so frank and simple, and with so little force or subtlety of argument, as to render it evident that they had been dictated by her own private prejudices, and secretly composed by her own pen. She begins, to use nearly her own words, by calling God to witness that no person, man or woman, directly nor indirectly, had ever said any thing to her since she came into England, or used the least endeavour to make her change her religion; but that it was a blessing she owed wholly to Almighty God, and to her earnest and constant prayers that she might before she died be in the true religion. That she had entertained no scruples till the preceding November, when, chancing to peruse Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation, which had been much recommended to her, she found it to contain what seemed to her to be the most horrible sacrileges imaginable, and could find no reason why we left that Church, but three most abominable ones. First, that Henry the Eighth renounced the Pope's authority because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another in his lifetime; secondly, because Edward the Sixth was a child, and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of church lands; and, thirdly, because Elizabeth, who was no lawful heiress to the Crown, could have no way to keep it but by renouncing a church that would never suffer so unlawful a thing to be done by one of her children. "I confess," says she, "I cannot think the Holy Ghost to be in such councils." After some wretched reasoning on transubstantiation, the infallibility of the church, confession, and praying for the dead, she concludes thus: "I am not able, nor if I were, would I enter into disputes with any body. I only, in short, say this for the changing of my religion, which I take God to witness I never would have done if I had thought it possible to save my soul otherwise. I think I need not say it is any interest in this world that leads me to it. It will be plain enough to every body that I must lose all the friends and credit I have here by it; and I have very well weighed which I could best part with, my share in this world, or the next. I thank God I have found no difficulty in the choice."

It has been the fashion of the writers of that time to assert that this lady's abandonment of the Protestant religion was the work of incessant persuasions and threats. It would be absurd to suppose that the approbation, nay the endeavours, of a husband so bigotted as James had been wholly wanting; but there can be little doubt that the change arose chiefly from her own conscientious inclination. Her father, who had been for some time disgraced, and was then living in exile, regretted this dereliction perhaps more keenly than any of his own misfortunes, and wrote on it to her, and to the Duke, the most earnest expostulations, which however did not arrive till after her death.

The Duchess's constitution had been long declining. She is said to have been very indolent, and a great eater, but there is reason to believe that her end was hastened by domestic anxiety. James was a notoriously unfaithful, and probably negligent, husband; and the reputation of patience with which she seemed to endure those afflictions was in fact due to the stifled anger of a proud spirit, any active exertion of which might have been worse than useless. Bishop Kennet tells us, that "after a growing corpulency, she fell into a long indisposition, and died." Burnet says, that "a long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended, and that she fell on a sudden into the pains of death." He adds, that Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, was sent for, to perform the usual offices of the church on such occasions, but that "the Queen being present, he went no further than to say that he hoped she continued in the truth; upon which she asked 'What is truth?' and, her agony increasing, she repeated the word truth, truth, many times, and in a few minutes after died, very little beloved or lamented, for her haughtiness had raised her many enemies." In another part of his uncharitable memoirs he gives her a high character, still however with that qualification which it really seems to have required. "The Duchess of York," says he, "was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess, and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and had begun the Duke's life, of which she shewed me a volume, which was all taken from his own journal. She was generous and friendly, but too severe an enemy."

She died at St. James's Palace, between three and four in the afternoon, on the thirty-first of March, 1671, in the thirty-fourth year of her age, and was buried, as had been all those of her children who died before her, in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Of her numerous progeny by the unhappy James none reached maturity except the Queens, Mary the second, and Anne, her successor. The rest were, Charles, who was born on the twenty-second of October, 1660, and died at Whitehall, on the fifth of May in the following year, while a patent was preparing, to create him Duke and Earl of Cambridge; James, born on the twelfth of July, 1663, who was created Baron of Dauntsey, in Wilts, and Duke and Earl of Cambridge, and invested with the order of the Garter, but died on the twentieth of June, 1666; Charles, born on the fourth of July, in that year, and created Duke of Kendal, who died on the twenty-second of the following May; Edgar, born September the fourteenth, 1667, and also created Duke of Cambridge, but died on the eighth of June, 1671; Henrietta, born on the thirteenth of January, 1668, and died November the fifteenth, 1669; and Catherine, born February the ninth, 1670, who died on the fifth of December, 1671. Burnet, in whom it might have been becoming enough to ascribe the hard and untimely fate of James's line to an interposition of Providence for the protection of the Church of England, has, in his inveterate malice to that Prince, thought fit to place it to another account, to which I have before alluded.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Archbishop of Canterbury.

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WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The life of this prelate can be here but slightly sketched, for it comprised with the history of the Church of England, most of the political history also of his time. The mutual dependance on each other of the ecclesiastical establishment and the state has never been at any other epoch so clearly proved; and the proof is self-evident in the awful ruin of both which immediately followed their disjunction. Laud saw the danger, and endeavoured to avert it, but he was not master of the means. With great simplicity of mind, and equal warmth of temper; an admirable scholar; an acute logician; sincerely pious and honest, and eminently loyal; he was qualified neither for the primacy nor the cabinet. He possessed great talents, but scarcely any of the faculties necessary to form what is usually called a great man, except firmness, which, in the absence of the rest, was worse than useless. He fondly sought to cool the rage of faction by fair and sound argument; and to correct the obstinacy of schism by pastoral exhortation, and just, but imprudent discipline. The only faults in his moral character were passion and haughtiness; and the great error of his life was his belief that innocence of heart, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through the world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: "and sure," adds the great historian, "never any man was better supplied with that provision."

His birth was decent. He was the son of William Laud, a clothier, of Reading, in Berkshire, and a man of property, by Lucy, sister of William Webb, a citizen of London, who became afterwards an alderman and knight, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1591. He was born on the seventh of October, 1573, and bred in the free school at Reading, from whence he removed to St. John's college in Oxford, where he was entered a fellow commoner at the age of sixteen. From his tutor, John Buckeridge, then a fellow of that house, and who died Bishop of Ely, a zealous opponent equally of popery and puritanism, he imbibed that earnest attachment to the church, to which he owed his exaltation and his fall. He remained several years in the University; became a fellow of his college; took the degrees of bachelor, and master of arts, and bachelor of divinity; and served the office of proctor. The boldness and perseverance with which he denied the doctrines of Calvin, had already procured him much fame, and many enemies, among whom Dr. Abbot, then Vice-chancellor, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was strangely inclined to that wayward profession, was the most formidable; and a circumstance of his private ministry, which occurred during the heat of his academical disputes, contributed to cloud his prospects. Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, a gallant soldier, and a man of careless morals, who in 1603 had appointed Laud his domestic chaplain, had been warmly attached to Penelope, one of the daughters of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and wife to the Lord Rich, before her marriage to that nobleman; and an adulterous intercourse having been afterwards discovered between them, she was repudiated with the due forms of law. The Earl, on his return from the wars of Ireland, resolved to marry her, and Laud, at his request, in 1605, performed the nuptial service. This act, though strictly legal, gave much offence. The life of the lady had been peculiarly scandalous; and it was deemed a profanation of the sacred rite to lend it to her

benefit. His enemies magnified his fault to the utmost of their power; and it was represented in the worst light to the King, who knew, and had been before inclined to favour him; and James resented it so warmly, that for several years he would not suffer Laud's name to be mentioned in his presence. Laud, on his part, felt so keenly the sense of his misconduct and his misfortune in this affair that he ever after made the twenty-sixth of December, on which the marriage took place, a day of fasting and humiliation; and a long penitential prayer is extant, which he composed for the occasion.

He possessed no benefice till 1607, when he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in the following year he obtained the rectory of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire; proceeded Doctor in Divinity; and was appointed by Neile, Bishop of Rochester, his domestic chaplain. He now exchanged his Leicestershire living for the rectory of West Tilbury, in Essex, to which Neile, who became his warm patron, soon after added that of Cuckstone, in Kent. That Prelate, having been in 1610 translated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, was succeeded at Rochester by Laud's first and firmest friend, Dr. Buckeridge, who, through that promotion, vacated the presidency of St. John's college, and these Bishops exerted their best influence to procure his election to that office. Abbot, now Primate, as earnestly opposed it, and prevailed on the Chancellor Ellesmere to mention Laud unfavourably to the King; telling the Chancellor, according to Heylin's account, that he was "at least a Papist in his heart, and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion." Neile however interfered; and, some irregular practices having been used at the election to Laud's disadvantage, prevailed on James, to whom such offices were always agreeable, to determine it by his authority. The King employed three hours in the examination of the case; was convinced that Laud had been treated unjustly; and not only decided the question in his favour, but soon after appointed him one of his chaplains. Four years however elapsed without any further sign of royal grace. In the mean time Neile, who was now translated to the See of Lincoln, and had appointed him a Prebendary of that church, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, endeavoured earnestly to recommend him, and was opposed by Abbot, with at least equal vigilance. Neile at length succeeded; and, in November 1614, the King bestowed on Laud the Deanery of Gloucester, a dignity more important to him as an earnest of future favour than for the value of its revenues.

But he received soon after a stronger mark of James's good opinion, as well of his ministry as of his talents, in being appointed one of the clerical attendants on that Prince in his journey into Scotland in the spring of 1617; the arduous object of which was to bring that Church to an uniformity with the Church of England. The pains taken by him in that unsuccessful design highly gratified the King; yet he rose very gradually. He received no profitable mark of favour till January, $16\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{7}$, when he was appointed to a Prebend of Westminster; and on the twenty-ninth of the following June was nominated Bishop of St. David's. He had however acquired about this time the good will of the Marquis of Buckingham, then the chief fountain of promotion, both in church and state, and his elevation became certain. His conference with Fisher, in which he became engaged immediately after he was raised to the Prelacy, was instituted at the Marquis's request, for the especial purpose of guarding his mother against the arguments of that acute Jesuit, employed by the Romanists, who knew her influence over her son, to endeavour to reconcile her to their faith; and that celebrated disputation, which is indeed a masterpiece of argument, as well as of Christian erudition, bound the favourite to him in the strictest friendship. When Buckingham made his memorable journey to Spain, it soon became evident that he had left to Laud the superintendance of his affairs at court. In this situation the most mild and cautious could scarcely have escaped jealousy: it is not strange then that Laud should have provoked it to the utmost. The Lord Keeper Williams, not less choleric, resented openly this diversion of Buckingham's good graces from himself; and their quarrel was extended nearly to personal violence. In the mean time his old enemy Abbot, and others, revived to his disadvantage the matter of the Earl of Devonshire's marriage, which had slept for twenty years; and he found it prudent to defend himself, by making a full exposition of his conduct in it to the King. While these

feuds were raging, Williams fell into disgrace; Abbot was sequestered, in consequence of an accidental homicide; King James died; and Laud, who seemed thus to have become suddenly a favourite of fortune, rose presently to a degree of consideration which, while it placed him for a time above the reach of his enemies, served in the end but to enhance the weight of his fall.

In 1626, soon after the accession of Charles, he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, sworn of the Privy Council, and translated to the See of Bath and Wells; and in 1628 to that of London. In the same year the first parliamentary attack was made on him by the puritan faction in the House of Commons. There was too much decency yet remaining in the majority of that body to allow it to countenance the accusation of Popery, which had been so long levelled at him without doors; but he was charged with Arminianism, in the remonstrance which was voted not long before the dissolution of that Parliament. It is probable that this blow was rather intended to aggravate the weight of the vengeance then meditated against his great friend Buckingham, than to injure the Bishop himself. Be this as it might, the Duke, within very few weeks after, was taken off by assassination, and Charles, with more good meaning than judgment, instantly bestowed on Laud the same degree of confidence and power which that extraordinary man had so long held; and by that grace placed him in the same peril from which his patron had been just before removed. This partiality of the King's towards him was visible only in its effect on public affairs, for Laud acquired then no temporal appointment; so that he was considered rather as a favourite than a minister, which increased his unpopularity. In the mean time he governed in ecclesiastical matters with a strictness that bordered on severity; and yet those who can examine his conduct dispassionately will find that he never uttered nor countenanced a judicial sentence that was not strictly just. Such even were those of the Starchamber (where, by the way, though he incurred all the odium, he sat but as an ordinary member), under the authority of which, frightful corporal punishments, and great fines, were inflicted on the flagitious libellers, Leighton, Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne. The prudence of those measures may indeed be reasonably doubted; but this is no place for lengthened disquisition. On the twelfth of April, 1630, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and in the spring of 1633 waited on the King at his coronation in Scotland. He renewed there with earnestness his favourite plan of accomplishing an union of the two Churches; and the partial success of his endeavours produced afterwards the worst consequences. On the fourth of August in that year, within very few days after his return from Scotland, he succeeded Abbot in the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

It is the intention of this small memoir to give chiefly such circumstances of the life of Laud as have been slightly, or not at all, mentioned in history, and to touch in a more general way on those which have been already largely recorded. To pursue that course, therefore, for the events of his Primacy are well known, I will observe, that his activity, which had gradually increased with his power, arose now to its utmost height, and that the obstinacy of his adversaries at least kept pace with it. Their refractory spirit did but increase his vigour, for his courage was equal to his zeal. Among his regulations for the restoration of the genuine usages of the Church of England, no one was more resisted by the sectaries than his order to replace the altar in its ancient situation: and they affected to regard with the utmost horror the revival of what was called the Book of Sports, the true and original intention of which was to prevent the profanation of Sunday by immoral recreations. In his eagerness for uniformity of worship he prohibited the use of their own liturgies to Protestant foreigners resident in England, who quitted it therefore in great numbers; and, as almost all those persons were merchants or manufacturers, he rendered himself odious by this measure to the whole commercial body of his own country, to whom it occasioned considerable loss and inconvenience. The same disposition led him, though less openly, to exert his authority, or at least his endeavours, to restrict the freedom of the Romish worship in the Queen's family; and thus he lost the good will of the Catholics, even while the puritans were insisting that he was in his heart a Papist. But his measures in Scotland produced results equally miserable to his country and himself. In his late visit to that kingdom he had prevailed on the Bishops there to en-

join the use of a liturgy approved, in fact composed, by himself, and his brother Prelates in England, together with certain canons for the government of the Scottish Church; and the promulgation of these, which had been long delayed, produced instantly the most frantic tumults, and caused in the end the formation of that vile and fatal code of fanaticism and rebellion, which its authors dignified with the title of the solemn league and covenant.

Such were his proceedings with regard to the Church; nor was his political conduct more temperate. It was not till 1634 that he was first named to temporal offices. He was then appointed a member of the Committee for trade, and the King's revenues; and, within a few weeks after, when the Treasury was put into commission on the death of Weston, Earl of Portland, was chosen one of the Commissioners, and also placed on what was then called the Foreign Committee. In these several situations the King's partiality, and the character of his own temper, naturally led him to assume a dictatorial authority, and feuds arose, injurious to the public service, between himself and his colleagues, particularly in the Treasury, which at the end of a year determined him to quit it. He prevailed however on Charles not only to dissolve that commission, which was certainly composed of wise and experienced persons, but to nominate for Lord Treasurer his friend, Bishop Juxon, an incomparable ornament in all respects to his sacred profession, and perhaps therefore wholly unfit to sit at the helm of public affairs. Here, as in all the rest, Laud erred from good motives. He had discovered that great frauds and peculations were practised in the department of the Treasury, and that many former Treasurers had connived at them, in order the more effectually to secure to themselves the largest share of the spoil; and, charmed by his conviction of Juxon's perfect integrity, he overlooked his various disqualifications. Of this appointment, unfortunately made at a moment when the conciliation of parties was most essential to the King's interests, Lord Clarendon says that "the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office, and the greatest of the Nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them; when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom. This inflamed more than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the Archbishop, who was the known architect of this new fabric, but most unjustly indisposed many towards the Church itself, which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices." Not less unpopular, however necessary, were the ordinations by which, in 1637, he vainly endeavoured to curb that gigantic creature of careless forbearance which has since obtained the name of the liberty of the press. On the eleventh of July in that year he procured a decree in the Starchamber to regulate the trade of printing, by which the printers were restricted to a precise number, and the publication of any book which had not been licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, or by one of their chaplains, or by the Chancellor, or Vice-chancellor, of one of the Universities, strictly prohibited.

The public character of Laud, which was in fact balanced between good intentions and bad management, has perhaps never yet been fairly estimated, even by the most impartial; and it has been truly observed that of no other man has so much good, and so much evil, been reported. This however is certain, that he fell a sacrifice, not to justice, but to the inordinate rage of a faction. He was one of the first objects of the vengeance of the Long Parliament. On the eighteenth of December, 1640, not many weeks after the meeting of that fatal assembly, an impeachment of high treason against him was carried up by Denzil Holles to the Peers, and received by them with equal satisfaction; but his enemies, in the extravagancy of their hatred, had forgotten to provide themselves with specific charges. At length, at the end of ten weeks, during which he was confined in the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Henry Vane presented to the Lords fourteen articles, most of which were notoriously false, and not one of them approaching to treason. He was now removed to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner for three years, in which interval he was gradually stripped, under the illegal authority of various votes, sometimes of one House of Parliament, sometimes of the other, not only of all the functions and revenues of his Archbishopric, but nearly of the whole of his private property. At last, on the twelfth of March, 1643-4, he

was brought to trial on the fourteen charges first preferred against him, to which the Commons had lately added ten others, and had adopted also a large and confused body of accusation supplied by the Scottish commissioners then in London. Twenty days were passed in the proceeding, which was equally distinguished by the ingenuity and the malignity with which it was conducted, and yet in the end his prosecutors durst not call either on the House of Peers, or on a jury, to decide on the evidence. The Commons, however, had determined to shed the blood of this champion of the Church and the Monarchy, and, even in the hour of their most tender solicitude for the liberties of the subject, and the just administration of the laws, had recourse therefore to an engine of tyranny so monstrous and hateful that it had been rarely used, even in the most despotic times. On the sixteenth of November following his trial they passed a bill for his attainder, which they immediately sent up to the Lords. In that assembly, deprived as it then was of the flower of its order, and bitterly inimical to the accused, some remnant of justice, as well as of dignity, yet resided. The bill remained with them, scarcely noticed, till the beginning of the succeeding January, on the fourth of which month it was passed, in a very thin house, awed by the threats of a savage mob, at that moment besieging its doors with outcries for justice. Prynne, the most bitter of his enemies, but for whose hatred the infirmity of nature may be fairly pleaded in apology, and whom the House of Commons had most scandalously invested with a formal agency in his prosecution, tells us that "he made on his trial as full, as gallant, and as pithy a defence, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and with as much art, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence:" and Ludlow, one of the most honest, though one of the sternest, of the Puritan regicides, frankly owns that "he was beheaded for the encouragement of the Scots." He suffered death on Tower Hill, with the same courage and piety which had distinguished his whole life, on the tenth of January, 1644-5.

The moral character of Laud was of such perfect purity that his most rancorous enemies never durst attempt to impeach it, unless we could give credit to their vulgar cry of his inclination to Popery, and charge him therefore with hypocrisy. It may be worth while to observe on that head that the Romanists themselves, not only in England but also on the continent, considered him as the most formidable enemy to their Church. Salmonet, an ingenious Frenchman, who wrote a history of the troubles of Great Britain, makes the following acute remark on his revival of those decent and dignified forms and ceremonies which the fanatics considered, or rather affected to consider, as infallible proofs of his affection to that Church: "Il pensoit si peu à y restablir la communion Catholique, qu'au contraire il esperoit par cette face exterieure qu'il donnoit a toutes choses, et qui ressembloit fort a celle des premiers temps de l'eglise, d'attirer les Catholiques de ce royaume là a la communion Anglicane, et de rompre ce lien d'unité qui les tient attachez a la chaire unique de St. Pierre." Lord Clarendon, who argues, perhaps with unnecessary earnestness, to clear him from that imputation, tells us that "he was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love Papist."—"The Archbishop," says Lord Clarendon, in another place, speaking of the contest between the followers of Arminius and the Calvinists, "had all his life opposed Calvin's doctrines in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and, thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which nobody believed him to be; and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him for their propagating that calumny against him."

For the rest, the noble historian informs us that "he was a man of great parts, alloyed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities, and of great courage and resolution; and, being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs but what was pious and just, as sure no man ever had a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his country, he never studied the easiest ways to those ends: he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little, nor cared to make

his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressions, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished, the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power, or will, to chastise. Persons of honour and quality, of the Court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted, to their shame and punishment." But it is said that Laud wanted prudence—Had he possessed what the world usually calls prudence, Lord Clarendon must have sought for other materials wherewith to embalm his memory.

Laud's disinterestedness and munificence were in every way remarkable. His private charities were unbounded. It was his constant practice to allot a certain number of poor to each of his church preferments, in proportion to the amount of their revenues respectively, whom he maintained, and he commenced that practice on his induction into the first benefice ever held by him. His public foundations, especially in Oxford, were princely. He built almost the whole of the inner quadrangle of St. John's College; augmented its library with many manuscripts; and bestowed on it a gift of five hundred pounds in money. He erected an extensive building at the west end of the Divinity school, and the Bodleian library, the lower part of which was appropriated to the Convocations, and other public meetings of the University, and the upper part, opening into the public library, to the reception of books, in which is deposited his own splendid collection; for he had given, at different times, to the University thirteen hundred manuscripts, collected by himself at immense expense. He founded there also an Arabic lecture, and obtained for St. John's College the advowson of St. Laurence, at Reading, in Berkshire, in which town he built a hospital, and endowed it with an annual revenue of two hundred pounds. When the persecution against him was instituted, he was deeply engaged in perfecting some of the noblest plans for the advancement of piety and learning that had ever been devised by a subject.

His published works are fewer, and less important, than might have been expected from such a man. They consist of seven sermons, preached on public occasions, between the years 1620 and 1629, which were first printed singly, and reprinted together in 1651: his Conference with Fisher, which has been spoken of above: an answer to the remonstrance of the House of Commons in 1628: a speech delivered in the Starchamber, on the censure of Prynne, and the rest. These were printed by himself. The following did not appear till after his death: a Diary of his life, exquisitely illustrative of his true character, which was published, with "an History of his Troubles and Tryal," by the learned Henry Wharton: "Annotations, or Memorables, of King James the First," which may be found in Rushworth's Collections: a Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, and many others: an historical Account of the Affairs of the University of Oxford during his Chancellorship: "Officium Quotidianum;" and another Manual of private Devotions.

Archbishop Laud died unmarried. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, in London, but was removed, after the Restoration, to the chapel of his favourite house, St. John's College, in Oxford.

James Stanley, Seventh Earl of Derby.

From the original of Vandyke in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Derby

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by E. Scriven

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JAMES STANLEY,

EARL OF DERBY.

THE motto, "Sans Changer," used for so many centuries by the elder line of the noble house of Stanley, seems to have been adopted in a prophetic spirit. Invariably honourable, just, bounteous, hospitable, valiant, and magnificent; above all, invariably loyal; that family may perhaps safely challenge history and tradition to shew one defective link in its long chain of succession; to point out a single stain on the purity of it's public conduct, or on its uniform exercise of the mild and graceful duties of private life. Of the Nobleman whose eulogium will be attempted in the following pages (for the simple story of his life will form his true eulogium) it is not too much to say, that his family, the peerage, and his country, are bound, in policy, as well as by affection, to cherish his memory, even with a reverential regard.

He was the firstborn of the three sons of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and at length heir general of that most ancient house. Of his youth, and early manhood, scarcely any particulars have been preserved. He has left proofs, however, that his education was worthy of his rank, and perhaps of his mind. The Court knew little of him till it had become a military Court. He was one of the many Knights of the Bath appointed at the coronation of Charles the first, when he was a very young man, bearing the title of 'Lord Strange, by which two years after he was summoned to Parliament; and these, with the exception of those provincial authorities which seemed almost naturally to belong to him, were the only public marks of favour that he ever received from that Prince; so that his devotion to the Crown may be said to have flowed even from a finer source than gratitude. He passed his time in splendid privacy; superintending the several princely establishments of his ancient father, in Lancashire, and in the Isle of Man, where the Earls of Derby then exercised a royal sway; cultivating the morals and manners of a numerous population, attached to him and to his ancestors by feelings which wanted but the fact of actual parentage to make them really filial; and employing his leisure in studies not less philosophic than polite. The lamentable crisis of the grand rebellion drew him in an instant from these peaceful engagements, and he was among the first who joined the King, after the fury of the Parliament had driven his Majesty to York. He assumed the character of a soldier within very few weeks after the death of his father had invested him with the utmost extent of those views of prosperity which nothing but his engaging in the war could have frustrated.

An unfortunate change of resolution in Charles's Council not only rendered Lord Derby's first endeavours in a great measure abortive, but had an ill effect also on many of his subsequent services. It had been determined that the royal standard should be first hoisted at Warrington, and the Earl, whose influence in that part of the island was unbounded, had been sent back into Lancashire, immediately after his arrival at York, with directions to collect the military force of the county. He had performed that duty with surprising celerity and exactness, and had actually mustered on the three heaths of Preston, Ormskirk, and Bury, a force of sixty thousand men, and was proceeding to take the same course in Cheshire, and North Wales, where, as well as in Lancashire, he was Lord Lieutenant, when he suddenly received notice that the King had resolved to set up his standard at Nottingham; and, soon after, a special letter from his Majesty, directing him to hasten to the head quarters, with

such troops as he might be able to equip completely. In the mean time great numbers of the Lancashire men, piqued at the disappointment, returned to their homes, resolving to stand neuter, while many others joined the rebels, and aided them considerably in seizing on the town of Manchester. The Earl, however severely mortified, speedily raised among his friends and tenants three regiments of foot, and as many troops of horse, which he clothed and armed at his own expense, and waited on the King who was then at Shrewsbury, to receive his orders for the disposal of them. He was commanded to return to them with the utmost speed, and to endeavour to take Manchester by a bold and sudden attack; and having accordingly made all preparations, even to fixing the hour for the assault, he received orders the night before to join the King, without a moment's delay, with his force, which was then most imprudently placed under the command of others, while he was desired to repair again into Lancashire, to make new efforts to raise men in a country dispirited, offended, and now in no small degree disaffected. Lord Clarendon, whose report of all these matters is given too much at large to be admitted here, seems to treat the Earl's concern in them with less than his usual candour.

Lancashire however was now nearly lost to the Crown. The Earl, with much difficulty, collected a sufficient force to take Preston and Lancaster by storm, and led it personally in those enterprises with the greatest bravery, and was preparing to attack Manchester, when this new levy was also called away to the main army, and he was once more left without the means of using offensive measures. Nothing now was left for him in his county but to fortify his mansion of Latham, in which he was busily employed when he received intelligence that the rebels had planned an attack on the Isle of Man, and immediately sailed thither, leaving the completion of his works at Latham, and it's defence, to his Countess. Of the romantic excellence of that lady's conduct in the execution of her charge I shall say nothing more in this place, but will endeavour in another part of the work to do that justice to her memory which has been hitherto in a great measure neglected. Latham House, the siege of which commenced in February, 1644, was defended first by the Countess in person, and afterwards by one of the Officers whom she had originally placed in it under her command, for more than two years, and was at last surrendered by a positive order from the King, having cost the enemy no less than six thousand men, and being one of the last fortified places in the kingdom that had held out for his Majesty. The Earl, who had returned from Man during the siege, found Prince Rupert unsuccessfully besieging the town of Bolton, which was in the midst of his own territory, and which, with the aid of some companies of his old provincial soldiers, who at his request were placed under his command for that peculiar service, he carried by a furious assault in the space of half an hour, and was the first man who entered it. He now returned to the Isle of Man, together with his Countess, leaving his children in England, who were soon after basely seized and imprisoned, by an order of the House of Commons. Offers were repeatedly made to him by that body to restore them, and to leave him in quiet possession of his whole estate, if he would give up the island; but he constantly refused, even after all hope for the royal cause was lost, saying that "he would never redeem either by his disloyalty." Affronted at length by solicitations which evinced a doubt in those by whom they were used of his courage or fidelity, he sent the following glorious reply to a proposal made to him by the regicide Ireton, who was frequently the organ of the party on such occasions, and from that moment the rebels vowed the deepest vengeance against him:—

"I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer—that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my Sovereign; since you cannot be insensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service, from which principle of loyalty I am in no way departed. I scorn your proffers: I disdain your favours: I abhor your treasons: and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I will keep it, to the utmost of my power, to your destruction. Take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitations; for, if you trouble me with any more messages upon this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer.

This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it the chiefest glory to be

His Majesties most loyal and obedient Servant,
DERBY."

Castle Town,
12th July, 1649.

He remained in the Isle of Man till the year 1651, when the young King, having resolved to leave Scotland, at the head of an army unhappily commanded rather by Presbyterian Ministers than by it's Generals, dispatched an order to the Earl to meet him in Lancashire, which he instantly obeyed, and received there the King's command to endeavour once more to raise troops in that county. Charles, who was then repairing by forced marches to Shrewsbury, left with him a body of about two hundred horse, consisting mostly of officers and gentlemen, to enable him, should he prove unsuccessful in his levy, to follow the army with a better chance of security. Having employed trusty persons to publish the news of his arrival, and to give notice of his views, he took up his quarters, within two or three days after he had left the King, in the town of Wigan, to await the appearance of his friends; where on the very next morning he was attacked by a large body of militia, and regular troops, which Cromwell had unexpectedly detached, under the command of Lilburn, to harass the rear of the King's army on it's march, and to pick up such stragglers as might not keep pace with it. The most heroic, but at length ineffectual, resistance was made for two hours by the Earl, and his small band, against a force of three thousand horse and foot. It is recorded that he received in this sanguinary skirmish seven shot on his breast plate, thirteen cuts on his beaver, and five or six wounds on his arms and shoulders, and that he had two horses killed under him. He found means however to escape, almost alone, through Shropshire and Staffordshire, to the King, at Worcester, reserved for a harder fate.

In the evening of the third of September, the day on which the fatal battle was fought close to that city, his wounds yet bleeding, for only eight days had passed since his fierce encounter at Wigan, he secretly and safely conducted Charles, by St. Martin's gate in Worcester, from the horrors and dangers which surrounded him; directed his Majesty to the since celebrated retreats of Whiteladies, and Boscobel, in each of which himself had been within a few days before sheltered; and took leave of the King for ever. He now travelled, with as much speed as his condition would allow, towards his own country; but had scarcely arrived within Cheshire when he was attacked by a party commanded by a rebel Major of the name of Edge, to whom he surrendered, under a promise of quarter. The Parliament, however, sent down to Chester a commission to nineteen persons of it's military in that part of the country, all of whom were notoriously his personal enemies, to form themselves into what was called a High Court of Justice, and "to try the Earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion." He was of course condemned to die; and these mock judges indulged themselves in the vulgar barbarity of sending him to suffer their sentence in his own town of Bolton, where he had last appeared as a conqueror, and of subjecting him on his way thither, and indeed to the moment of his death, to brutal insult. A minute narrative of the circumstances of his final hours was penned, with touching simplicity, by a Mr. Bagaley, one of his gentlemen, who was allowed to attend him to the last, and the manuscript has been carefully preserved in the family. A transcript of the most part of it may be found in Collins's Peerage. It displays one of the purest examples extant of the courage of a soldier, the patience of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian. He meant to have addressed himself at some length to the People, but was interrupted. In the part which he uttered are these passages:—"As for my crime, as some are pleased to call it, to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name, for I did it in obedience to his call whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time. I confess I love Monarchy, and I love my master, Charles, the second of that name, whom I myself proclaimed in this country to be King. The Lord bless and preserve him; and I wish so much happiness to this people after my death that he may enjoy his right, and then they cannot want their rights.

I profess here, in the presence of God, I always sought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither means nor honours, nor did I seek to enlarge either. By the King's predecessors mine were raised to a high condition, it is well known to the country; and it is as well known that by his enemies I am condemned to suffer by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our King again, and our old Laws again, and the Lord send us our Religion again. Truly to me it seems I die for God, the King, and the Laws; and this makes me not to be ashamed of my life, nor afraid of my death." At these words one of the persons by whom he was guarded on the scaffold, misunderstanding him, ignorantly cried "We have no King, and we will have no Lords," and he was not permitted to say more; Bagaley's narrative, however, gives the remainder of his intended speech, from the notes which the Earl at that moment handed to him. He was beheaded on Wednesday, the fifteenth of October, 1651; and England has not produced a parallel character since loyalty ceased to be an unmixed sentiment.

"The Earl of Derby," says Lord Clarendon, who, by the way, seems never to have felt cordially towards him, "was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the King, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. The King in his first year sent him the Order of the Garter, which, in many respects, he had expected from the last; and the sense of that honour made him so readily comply with the King's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots, who he thought had too much guilt upon them in having depressed the Crown to be made instruments in repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour, and clear courage, and all his defects and misfortunes arose from his having lived so little a time among his equals that he knew not how to treat his inferiors, which was the source of all the ill that befel him; having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death."

He married Charlotte, daughter to Claude de la Tremoüille, Duke of Thouars, and Peer of France, by whom he had Charles, his successor, and two younger sons, Edward and William, who died infants; and four daughters; Charlotte, who died young; Henrietta Maria, who was married to William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford; Catherine, to Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester; and Amelia Sophia, to John Murray, Marquis of Athol. It remains only to be added to this sketch that the Earl had very considerable talents; was inclined to literary composition, and was among the best prose writers of his time. In the Desiderata Curiosa may be found "The History of the Isle of Man, by James, Earl of Derby, and Lord of Man, interspersed with large and excellent advices to his son;" and one of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, is a sort of historical common-place book, written by his hand. It contains chiefly extracts from the popular libel called "Leicester's Commonwealth;" from the History of the Council of Trent; and from Fuller's Holy War. On the first page he has written "Ne turba operas meas"—J. Derby, 1645; and on the last, "Finis, Ja. 13, 1645, at Castle Rushin, in the Isle of Man—J. Derby."

William Villiers, Viscount Grandison.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon.

Drawn by H. Crease, & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

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WILLIAM VILLIERS,

VISCOUNT GRANDISON.

Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, in Leicestershire, of whose second marriage was born the great Duke of Buckingham, had issue by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Saunders, of Harrington, in the County of Northampton, two sons, of whom the second was Sir Edward Villiers, a man not more distinguished by his eminent public actions in Ireland than by an admirable private character. This gentleman married Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lediard Tregoze, in Wilts; and, among the multiplicity of dignities showered on the family of the favourite, either immediately or in reversion, that of Viscount Grandison, in that kingdom, was given, soon after their nuptials, to Sir Oliver St. John, the celebrated Lord Deputy of Ireland, to whom the bride was niece and heir, with remainder to the issue of their marriage, of which William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son.

He was born in 1613; succeeded to the title on the death of his great uncle, in 1630; and, soon after he came of age, took his seat in the House of Peers, with equal inclination and capacity to fill a conspicuous part in the conduct of public affairs. Having seen somewhat of a military life in the wars of the Netherlands, he intended to have passed his days chiefly in Ireland, where his father had justly gained a mighty popularity, and to have sat down, calmly though not inactively, in the enjoyment of those affections of which the inheritance had been in a manner bequeathed to him; but the time was fast approaching which unhappily demanded other duties of the vigour of youth. Lord Grandison, full of martial spirit, and of gratitude for the prodigious favours which his family owed to Charles, was among the first who rushed forward in that Prince's cause, even in the dawn of the rebellion. He fixed his three brothers, the youngest of whom had scarcely passed childhood, in the military service; and commanded himself a regiment in the army raised in 1640 against the Scots, at the head of which he signalised himself with the greatest gallantry on many occasions. In the following year he passed into Ireland, and served in the county of Armagh, at the head of a body of horse, which having been surprised, and almost destroyed, by the Irish, on their first rising, he returned to the King, who had now set up his standard, and was immediately appointed to command a regiment of cavalry, under the eye of his Majesty, who was then present with the army. Here too, and indeed always, he was not less ill-fated than brave. "This success," says Lord Clarendon (having spoken of the surrender of Marlborough to the Royalists in December, 1642) "was a little shadowed by the unfortunate loss of a very good regiment of horse within a very fews days after; for the Lord Grandison, by the miscarriage of orders, was exposed at too great a distance from the army with his single regiment of horse consisting of three hundred, and a regiment of two hundred dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a party of the enemy of five thousand horse and dragoons; and so was himself, after a retreat made to Winchester, there taken, with all his party, which was the first loss of that kind the King sustained; but without the smallest fault of the commander; and the misfortune was much lessened by his making an escape himself, with two or three of his principal officers, who were very welcome to Oxford."

This recovery of his liberty was marked by some peculiar circumstances which history has omitted to record; for Lloyd, in his Memoirs of those who suffered in the grand rebellion, tells us that "Lord Grandison's escape from Winchester was admirably contrived, not

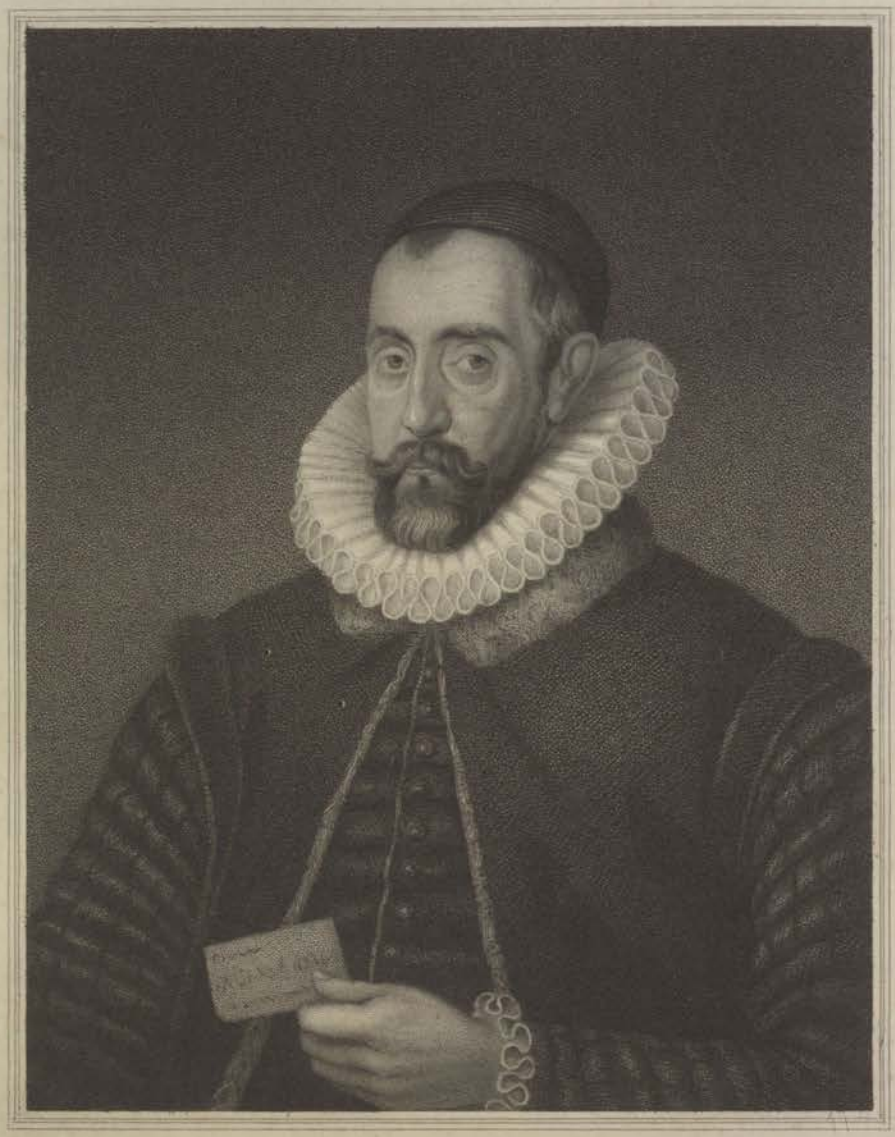
only for his safety, but the converting of many to his Majesty's side, and sowing of dissension among the enemies." Other events too of his life are almost buried in oblivion. We discover from some strangely obscure passages in the same book, and I meet with it in no other, that after his mischance at Winchester, Lord Grandison marched northward, with a force of horse, and raised the siege of Newark; and then, to use the words of Lloyd, " brought, in his dextrous way of marching horse, several supplies, through the thickest of his enemies, to Oxford, where his counsels and advice were as pertinent as his actions were noble."

His gallant career was too soon terminated. He commanded, according to Lord Clarendon, the infantry, with the title of Colonel General, in the army with which Prince Rupert, in July, 1643, besieged Bristol; but Lloyd, still our only authority for particulars, and still in the same strain of imperfect communication, tells us that " he had laid a design, prevented by a ridiculous mistake, to entrap Fiennes" (the Governor) " with his gallant brigade of horse, that never charged till they touched the enemies' horses' head." How far these two accounts may be reconcileable it is needless here to inquire; thus much however is certain: that on the twenty-fifth of that month, the day before the dearly bought capitulation of the town (for he was one of many heroes who fell there) in leading on his men with the most determined bravery, after having had two horses killed under him, and four wounded, he was disabled by a musket shot, and carried to Oxford, where he languished for some weeks, and expired.

The noble historian, however superficially he may have detailed the particulars of Lord Grandison's services, has thus immortalized the memory of that excellent person by one of those exquisite portraits which were, and ever will be, peculiar to his pen—" He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him: so great a lover of justice and integrity that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it: and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels, was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person. His affection, zeal, and obedience, to the King was such as became a branch of that family; and he was wont to say that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his house, were such as that his life was but a due sacrifice; and, therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service, and there were then three more of them in command in the army where he was so unfortunately cut off." When the King was informed of his death, he exclaimed that " he had lost an honest resolved man;" and added, with that quaintness which was then frequently used, even in the most serious speeches, that " Lord Grandison was as free from spleen as if he had always lived by the medicinal waters of St. Vincent's rock, where he received his fatal wound."

He married Mary, third daughter of Paul, Viscount Bayning; who, after his death became the wife, first of his cousin Charles Villiers, second and last Earl of Anglesey of his name; and, secondly, of Arthur Gorges. By her he had one daughter, his sole heir, Barbara, who was married to Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain in Ireland, and who, through a connection with that Prince to which in those days little discredit attached, was created by Charles the second Duchess of Cleveland. A splendid monument was erected by that lady over the remains of her father, who was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford, with the following inscription.

" H. S. I. Gulielmus Villiers, Vice-Comes Grandison de Limerico, martis et gratiarum certamen; qui oris venustissimi decus factis pulcherrimis magis honestavit. Post res maximas, in Belgio, Hibernia, demum Anglia, gestas, cum a partibus Regis adversus rebelles in obsessam Bristoliam legiones duceret, primas admotis scalis vallum superavit, ducisque non uno nomine functus officio, militis ita seu virtutem, seu pudorem accendit ut propugnaculis



Sir Francis Walsingham.

From the original in the Collection of

His Grace, the Duke of Dorset.

Drawn by W. Haines. Engraved (with Permission) by H. Meyer.

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potiretur, glande interim femur trajectus, cupressum lauro intexuit; receptæ urbis grande nimis pretium Oxoniam delatus obiit, sub finem mensis Aug. Ann. MDCXLIII. ætatis suæ XXX. M. H. optimo parenti Barbara, Clevelandiæ Ducissa, pietatis ergo P."

The ingenious and worthy editor of the republication of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors has included this Nobleman in his large and valuable additions to that work; ascribing to him a translation from the Greek, with the following title—" Saint Chrysostome his Paræenesis, or Admonition, wherein he recalls Theodorus the fallen: or, generally, an exhortation for desperate sinners; translated by the Lord Viscount Grandison, prisoner in the Tower." Mr. Parke supposes that after his mishap at Winchester he was committed to the Tower, and that his *escape* (the term used by Lord Clarendon) was from thence, and not from his military captors. This, as will appear in the foregoing statement, is expressly contradicted by Lloyd; but the employment of the three years which comprised William Lord Grandison's public life, described in the present little sketch, seems to have left no room even for a very short confinement; which, had it happened to such a man, could indeed scarcely have passed wholly unnoticed in history. His next brother, John, who succeeded to him in the title, and lived long after 1654, the year in which the translation was published, and of whom we know only that he was actively engaged against the rebels, might very likely therefore have been so imprisoned after the ruin of the King's cause; as were probably many others of no other eminence than for their rank in society, of whose confinement we have no historical notice; and he, most probably, was the translator of the work in question.

William Seymour, First Marquis of Hertford.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon

Drawn by H. Cresse, & Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper

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WILLIAM SEYMOUR,

FIRST MARQUIS OF HERTFORD;

For it has been thought fit here rather to designate that great and good man by the title under which he adorns the page of history, than by that of a higher dignity, which was conferred on him after he had performed all his services, and when he was on the very eve of receiving their eternal reward.

He was the second son, but at length heir, by Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanston, in Dorsetshire, of Edward Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of Edward Seymour, Earl Hertford, who was eldest son, by the second marriage, of the Protector, Edward Duke of Somerset. He received his education in Magdalen College, in Oxford, and had formed even then a tender attachment, the consequences of which embittered many years of his early manhood. The witty and accomplished Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles, fifth Earl of Lenox, who was a lineal descendant from Henry the Seventh, and uncle to James the First, had conceived an affection for him, and privately encouraged his addresses. Her residence at the Palace of Woodstock, which perhaps first produced a familiarity between them, was highly favourable to their intercourse, which was long carried on in profound secrecy, but it was at length discovered in 1609 that they had entered into a formal contract of marriage. James, not only affronted, but, from motives which will be stated more at large in a sketch of the Lady's life, to be found elsewhere in this work, alarmed, caused them to be called before the Privy Council, and they were severely reprimanded; but this proceeding produced the very consequence which James desired to avoid; for Arabella, sensible that her reputation had been wounded by the inquiry, was in a manner forced into a marriage with Mr. Seymour, which becoming publicly known in the spring of the following year, she was committed to a close, though private, custody, and he to the Tower of London. Thus separated, they concerted means to escape, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, amidst circumstances which fell little short of the fictions of chivalrous romance. The poor Lady however was unfortunately taken on the sea, near Calais, and imprisoned for the short remainder of her life; but Mr. Seymour eluded his pursuers, and arrived safely in Flanders, where he seems to have resided till 1621, when he succeeded to the titles of Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchamp, on the death of his grandfather.

This misfortune, operating on a disposition already perhaps too much addicted to retirement and reserve, induced him to seclude himself from the society of all but a few very dear friends. He resided for many years almost entirely in the country, dividing his time between his studies, to which he was passionately attached, and the repair of his estates, which had been sadly mutilated after the downfal of his great ancestor. His inclination, and his vote, when he attended in Parliament, went for some years after the accession of Charles the First with the popular party, but the eagerness of its leaders for the blood of Strafford convinced him of the true nature of their designs, and from that period he not only threw into the scale of the Crown the whole weight of his affection, his popularity, and his replenished revenues, but suddenly assumed, together with the character of a counsellor and a commander, a degree of activity which had before seemed foreign from his very nature. In 1640 the King advanced him to the title of Marquis of Hertford, and about the same time appointed him Governor to the Prince of Wales; an office conferred by Charles for the sake of proving the fulness of his confidence in this nobleman, and accepted by him merely in testimony of his

profound duty and obedience; for, says Lord Clarendon, "it is very true he wanted some of those qualities which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and hopeful Prince, and in forming his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to, his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises; and had even contracted such a laziness of mind that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation, and cared not to discourse and argue on those points which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending; and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance. But then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a Governor, and exact that diligence from others which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished that none durst murmur against the designation, and therefore his Majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution." The first act of his government was a positive refusal to obey an order of the Parliament respecting the Prince.

He subscribed at York, on the thirteenth of June, 1642, the declaration made by the Peers of their opinion of the King's motives in his dispute with the Parliament, and of his sincere desire to avoid the impending war; and was presently after appointed, by commission under the Great Seal, Lieutenant General of all the western parts of the kingdom, with power to levy men, as he might think necessary for his Majesty's service; and, quitting the King at Beverley, set out immediately for those counties, in which he possessed great estates, and yet greater public esteem. He had magnified overmuch the influence which he expected to derive from those sources, and, instead of using that activity which the occasion required, tacitly left the country to exercise an option between the cause of the King and that of the rebels. In the mean time the enemy, under the Earl of Bedford, with the vigilance commonly used by those who espouse the faulty side of a question, had projected to surprise him at Wells, where, with only four troops of cavalry, and about an hundred foot, he had first taken up his quarters; and, although they failed in that design, forced him, even within few days after his arrival, to retreat, which he did with great gallantry, and without loss, to Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and from thence into Cornwall, where leaving a small part of his force, he transported himself, with the remainder, into Glamorganshire, and then joined the King at Oxford. Shortly after, however, upon some successes obtained by Prince Rupert in Devonshire and Cornwall, he was again dispatched into those parts, and Prince Maurice appointed to serve under him. He was now more diligent, and more successful, in his levies, which, added to the few troops which marched with him from Oxford, presently placed him at the head of a body of sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about a thousand foot. Thus recruited, he had no small share in the victories gained over Sir William Waller at Lansdown, and at Roundway; but on the capture of Weymouth, unhappy differences arose between him and the two Princes, the King's nephews, on the question whether he, as commander in the west, or Prince Rupert, as commander in chief of the King's army, possessed the right to nominate a governor of that town. The Marquis, at the King's earnest instance, consented with a good grace to wave his claim, but this dispute seems to have terminated his military services, for which, to say the truth, he appears to have had few qualifications beyond his personal courage, and his perfect fidelity to the royal cause. He retired with the King to Oxford; was appointed Groom of the Stole; and soon after resigned his superintendance of the Prince of Wales. On the twenty-fourth of October, in the same year, 1643, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

He now became the constant counsellor, companion, and friend, of the unhappy Charles, to whom he wholly devoted himself. In all negociations and treaties with the rebels, public or private, he was the prime agent; and such was their reverence for his virtues and his honour, that they seem to have allowed him to converse and correspond with them with the utmost freedom, and even to have held his person sacred, for he frequently put himself into their power. The sums lavished by him, from his own purse, for the service of the Crown,

were prodigious, independently of the great charge of his military levies. He is said to have brought at one time to the King sixty thousand pounds, contributed by himself, and some of his friends; and he supplied the necessities of Charles the second, during the fifteen years of his exile, with nearly five thousand pounds annually. The private nature of the innumerable services performed by him between the period when he relinquished his military command and that of the King's death has in a great measure excluded them from the notice of historians, from whom we gain no further information of him previously to the Restoration than that he was a commissioner for the King at the treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport, and that he was one of the four faithful noblemen who were permitted to lay the body of their murdered master in its grave.

He was of course dismissed by the usurpers from his office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and restored by a letter from King Charles the Second to that body, three weeks before he returned to repossess his crown. The Marquis met him at Dover on his landing, and the next day received from his hands at Canterbury the Order of the Garter, to which he had been elected in Jersey on the thirteenth of January, 1649. He was immediately after restored by an act of Parliament to the title of Duke of Somerset, which had been forfeited by the attainder of the Protector, his great grandfather; and the King, when he passed the bill, observed to both Houses that "as this was an act of an extraordinary nature, so it was done for an extraordinary person, who had merited as much of his royal father and himself as any subject could do; and therefore he hoped no man would envy it, because he had done what a good master should do to such a servant." The Marquis survived these tributes of just gratitude scarcely five months: he died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1660, and was buried at Great Bedwin, in Wilts, having been twice married; first, as has been before observed, to the Lady Arabella Stuart, by whom he had no issue; and, secondly, to Frances, eldest daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and sister and coheir to the second Earl Robert, the Parliament General. By the latter lady he had five sons, of whom William, Robert, and Thomas, died young and unmarried; and four daughters; Mary, married to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea; Frances, successively to Richard Viscount Molineux, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Conyers, son and heir to Conyers Lord Darcy; Jane, wife to Charles Lord Clifford. of Lanesborough, son and heir to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington; and Arabella, who died unmarried. His two sons who lived to maturity were Henry Lord Beauchamp, who died in 1656, leaving an only son, William, successor to his grandfather; and John, who on the death of that William, his nephew, in 1671, unmarried, became fourth Duke of Somerset.

Lord Clarendon, whose admirable censures must never be omitted, says that "the Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, interest, and estate, and of an universal esteem over the whole kingdom; and, though he had received many and continued disobligations from the Court, from the time of the King's coming to the Crown as well as during the reign of King James, in both which seasons more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his interest, yet he had carried himself with a notable steadiness from the beginning of the Parliament in the support and defence of the King's power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party, and never concurred with them against the Earl of Strafford, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy: and then he was not to be shaken in his affection to the government of the Church, though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed to any great inclination to the person of any Churchman; and, with all this, that party carried themselves towards him with profound respect, not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen his. He was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business."

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

The life of Walsingham, reputed one of the first statesmen of his time, affords but scanty materials to the biographer. Continually devoted, from an early age, to public affairs, the character of the man was almost absorbed in that of the minister; while, on the other hand, the mysterious secrecy with which he moved, invisibly, as it were, in his service of the State, conceals from us most of the particulars of that great agency which we know he exercised. It may be fairly said of him, without either compliment or insult to his memory, that he was an illustrious spy; but it must be added, that he is said to have been in private life an honest and kind-hearted man. He certainly was a wise and faithful public servant.

He descended from a very ancient and respectable family in Norfolk, said to have derived its surname from the town of Walsingham, a junior branch of which migrated into Kent about the time of Henry the sixth, and was the third and youngest son of William Walsingham, of Scadbury, in the parish of Chiselhurst, by Joyce, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. He was bred in his father's house, under a private tutor, and afterwards studied for a time in King's College, in Cambridge, from whence he went, very young, to seek a more enlarged education on the continent. The persecution raised by Mary induced him to remain abroad till her death, for his family were zealous protestants, and he was earnestly attached to that persuasion. He had thus abundant leisure for the employment of a most acute mind, naturally, if it may be so said, directed to the observation of the characters of nations and of individuals, of courts and of councils, of manners, customs, and political systems. He returned therefore, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, a self-made statesman, with the additional advantage of a perfect knowledge of most of the European languages, for he had always the reputation of being the first linguist of his time. Thus qualified, he fell in the way of Secretary Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, who, presently discerning the true character of his talents, retained him with eagerness, and made him, almost immediately, a principal agent in such affairs as peculiarly required activity and secrecy. Thus the management of Elizabeth's concerns at the Court of France was implicitly committed to his charge, at a time when they required the most refined diplomatic skill; while a dreadful civil war was raging in that country, and its Cabinet distinguished by a policy equally acute and perfidious.

Having remained there many years, he returned, for a short time, to aid the deliberations of Elizabeth's ministers on the great question of the French marriage, to which he seems to have been then really inclined; and in August, 1570, was sent again to Paris, professedly to negotiate on that subject, but, in fact, rather to agitate others of the highest importance. A very fine collection of his dispatches during that mission fell into the hands of Sir Dudley Digges, and were published in 1655, under the title of "The Compleat Ambassador." Those letters exhibit the perhaps unparalleled combination in one and the same mind of the most enlarged understanding, and the minutest cunning. Such were his wisdom and his address, that he contrived, while he treated of a proposal which might seem to have no chance of success but in mutual good faith, and perfect amity, to embarass Charles the ninth to the utmost by fomenting the insurrection of the Huguenots; to thwart the great designs of the House of Austria, by laying the foundation of the war in the Low Countries; and, after having passed three years in the prosecution of these opposite plans, to leave an honourable character behind him in a Court whose favourite interests he had constantly and

successfully endeavoured to injure. He returned in April, 1573, and was received by Elizabeth with the highest grace and approbation.

Very shortly after his arrival he was nominated one of the principal Secretaries of State. Gilbert Lord Talbot writes to his father, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, on the eleventh of May, 1573, "Mr. Walsingham is this day come hither to the Courte: It is thought he shall be made Secretary: Sir Thomas Smythe and he, both together, shall exercise that office." They were accordingly appointed; but the superintendance of all matters of extraordinary delicacy and secrecy in their department was committed to Walsingham alone, and he seems to have referred them all to one principle of management. Espionage, to use a word which is now almost English, and for which our language affords no synonyme, had been reduced by him to a system of precise regularity. Lloyd, making a nice distinction, states the number of persons employed by him in foreign Courts to have been fifty-three agents, and eighteen spies. "He had the wonderful art," says the author of the Life of Lord Bolingbroke, almost copying after the same Lloyd, without acknowledging the obligation, "of weaving plots, in which busy people were so intangled that they could never escape; but were sometimes spared upon submission, sometimes hanged for examples." Lloyd, again, tells us that he would "cherish a plot for some years together; admitting the conspirators to his, and the Queen's, presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully;" and that "his spies waited on some men every hour for three years."

In 1578 he was sent for a short time, accompanied by Lord Cobham, to the Netherlands, to treat, with little sincerity, of a peace between the new republic and the King of Spain; and in 1581 was again appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. The Duke of Anjou, since the accession of his brother, Henry the third, had renewed with earnestness his solicitations for the hand of Elizabeth, who, on her part, from a policy which has never been clearly understood, or from a caprice yet more unaccountable, had met his advances with a warmth and freedom ill suited to the dignity of an independent Queen, or to the prudence of a woman at the age of forty-five. The Duke had been thus tempted to visit her Court, in the declared character of a lover; had been received by her with unbecoming tokens of affection; and soon after repelled with coldness and disdain. The professed object of Walsingham's mission was to negotiate, previously to the proposed marriage, an offensive and defensive league, but the real view was either to reconcile those contrarieties, or to involve them in deeper mystery. He was dispatched in 1583 on an embassy, equally faithless, to the young King of Scotland, afterwards our James the first. Sir James Melvil, a plain honest man, who was naturally prejudiced in Walsingham's favour, as well because they had been acquainted, and had travelled together, in their youth, as that one part of the Secretary's instructions was to detach the King from a party which Melvil disliked, gives a large and remarkable account in his memoirs of this minister's intercourse with James. "His Majesty," says Melvil, "appointed four of the Council, and himself, to reason with Sir Francis, and to sound what he would be at; but he refused to deal with any but with his Majesty, who heard him again." He flattered James's vanity with the highest praise of his wisdom and erudition, and fully persuaded Melvil that he had visited Scotland with the purest intention of serving that Prince. "The King marvelled," concludes Sir James, "that the Chief Secretary of England, burthened with so many great affairs, sickly, and aged, should have enterprized so painful a voyage without any purpose; for it could not be perceived what was his errand, save only that he gave his Majesty good counsel." It is not surprising that even Walsingham should have failed to accomplish the object of this embassy, inasmuch as he had to contend, not with politics, but with passions. His secret instructions doubtless had been to detach James from his favourite, the Earl of Arran; and to place him again in the hands of the very noblemen who had just before held him in a degrading captivity, and even threatened his life, in that mysterious outrage distinguished in Scottish history by the name of "The Raid of Ruthven," Elizabeth's participation in which was more than suspected.

He returned from thus attempting to cajole the son, to take a frightful share in the odious measures of Elizabeth against the mother. Patriotism and loyalty, however enthusiastic,

could furnish no apology for the fraud and treachery with which he surrounded the unhappy Mary in her prison. The exquisite refinement, and endless variety, of his designs to entrap her savoured more of a natural taste for deception than of zeal for the public service. He seems indeed in many instances to have purposely delayed the fruition of his artifices for the mere delight of changing or repeating them. In the remarkable case of what is usually called "Babington's conspiracy," Ballard, a priest, who was the original mover of the design, was continually attended, from the very dawn of it, by Maude, one of Walsingham's spies. Maude first affected to aid him in England; then passed over with him into France, to tamper with the Spanish Ambassador, and others, and returned with him; assisted largely in debauching Babington, and several other young men of good families, and in constructing the whole machinery of the plot, in constant intelligence always with his master. In the mean time, another, named Giffard, insinuated himself into the society of some who were in the confidence of the Queen of Scots, and undertook to manage a correspondence between her and the conspirators, in which every letter written by her, as well as their answers, were delivered first to Walsingham, by whom they were opened, deciphered, copied, re-sealed, and forged additions occasionally made to them, and then dispatched to their several destinations. Walsingham at length condescended to become intimate with Babington, purposely to prostitute his own personal agency in this base tragedy; and, having occupied himself for six months in drawing his net every hour nearer and nearer to the unsuspecting victims, was at last compelled to close it over them by positive orders from Elizabeth, dictated by her fears. "Thus far," says Camden, who gives a most interesting and circumstantial detail of the whole, "had Walsingham spun the thread alone, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's Council; and longer would he have drawn it, but the Queen would not suffer it, lest, as she said herself, by not heeding and preventing the danger while she might, she might seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God."

But a charge of a blacker nature rests heavily on the memory of Walsingham. In a long letter in the Harleian Collection, addressed by him, and his Co-Secretary, Davison, within the period of which I have just now spoken, to Sir Amias Powlett, and Sir Drue Drury, by whom Mary was then held in close custody, are these terrific passages—"We find, by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not inall this time, of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the **** ** that Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said Queen shall live; wherein, besides a kind of lack of love to her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of the association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in a kind of sort for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested that, if the regard of the danger of her good subjects, and faithful servants, did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood, &c."

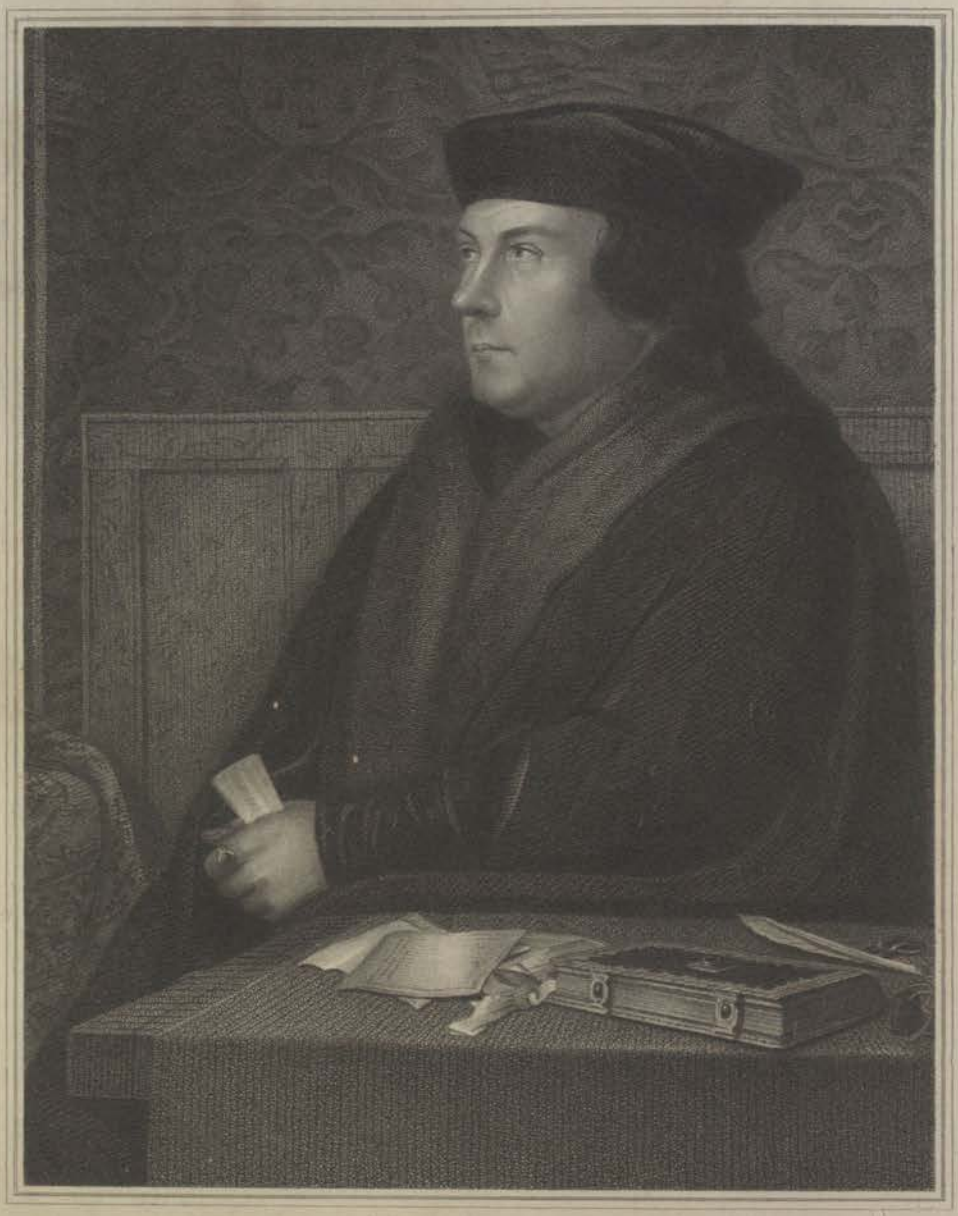
Great pains have been taken to discredit the authenticity of this letter, but it is difficult to conceive with what view such a document could have been forged; for the character of Elizabeth, who so soon after publickly stained herself with the blood of that miserable Princess, could scarcely have suffered further deterioration by such a charge. Besides, were it proper to argue the point in this place, evidence nearly positive might be produced that Elizabeth had at other times given private orders that she should be put to death, in the event of the occurrence of certain circumstances; but we have here no business with the letter, except

as an additional proof of Walsingham's habitual abandonment of every principle of justice, humanity, and honour, to the will of a sanguinary tyrant. Mary, on her trial, challenged him as her bitterest and most treacherous enemy. Camden informs us that she said, alluding to the charges against her with regard to Babington's plot, "that it was an easy thing to counterfeit the cyphers and characters of others, as a young man did very lately in France, who gave himself out to be her son's base brother; and that she was afraid this was done by Walsingham, to bring her to her end; who, as she had heard, had practised both against her life, and her son's."

The detail of Walsingham's secret machinations would fill a volume. Perhaps the most remarkable was that by which he managed for a considerable time to prevent the fitting out of that famous expedition called the Spanish Armada. He had obtained intelligence from Madrid that Philip had informed his ministers that he had written to Rome, to disclose to the Pope, the secret object of his great preparations by sea and land, and to beg his Holiness's blessing on the enterprise; and that he should conceal his views from them till the return of the courier. Walsingham, so far informed, employed a Venetian priest, one of his resident spies at Rome, to gain a copy of the King of Spain's letter. The priest corrupted a gentleman of the Pope's bedchamber, who took the key of his Holiness's cabinet out of his pocket while he slept; transcribed the letter; and returned the key. Hence Walsingham discovered that Philip had negotiated to raise the money to equip his fleet by bills on Genoa, and he contrived, through the aid of Sutton, the famous founder of the Charter-House, as it is said, and other eminent English merchants at Genoa, that nearly all those bills should be protested, and by that artifice impeded the sailing of the fleet for more than twelve months.

Walsingham, like several others of Elizabeth's most faithful servants, received few solid marks of her favour. He never held any public office, in addition to his laborious and unprofitable Secretaryship, except that of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which was not conferred on him till about 1587, late in his life, and he afterwards obtained the Order of the Garter. He lived and died miserably poor; for, such was his zeal, and such his mistress's baseness, that he lavished great sums from his own purse on the public service, and was never repaid. Camden says that "he watched the practices of the papists with so great an expense that he lessened his estate by that means, and brought himself so far in debt that he was buried privately, by night, in St. Paul's Church, without any manner of funeral ceremony." This is truly stated, for in his will I find this passage—"I desire that my body may be buried without any such extraordinary ceremonies as usually appertain to a man serving in my place, in respect of the greatness of my debts, and the mean state I shall leave my wife, and heir, in; charging both my executor and overseers to see this duly accomplished, according to the special trust and confidence I repose in them." He bequeaths to that heir, his only surviving child, no more than an annuity of one hundred pounds, and orders his "lands in Lincolnshire" to be sold for the payment of his debts. He died on the sixth of April, 1590, of a local complaint, not understood by the surgeons of that day; or rather, as Camden with much probability tells us, by the violence of the medicines which were administered; to him having been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Barnes, an Alderman of London, who died childless; secondly to Ursula, daughter of Henry St. Barbe, of Somersetshire, and widow of Richard Worsley, who brought him two daughters, Frances, and Mary, the latter of whom died unmarried in June, 1580. Frances was thrice splendidly wedded: first, to the memorable Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and thirdly, to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde; by each of whom she left issue.

Sir Francis Walsingham founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford, and acknowledgedhis affection to King's College, in Cambridge, by bestowing on it a library. A book which appeared not long after his death, and which has frequently been reprinted, intituled "Arcana Aulica, or Walsingham's Manual of prudential Maxims," has usually been reputed the work of his pen; but was more probably a compilation by some confidential person about him.



Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Elsex.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

Sir Thomas Clifford Bar.t

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell. & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Hall.

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THOMAS CROMWELL,

EARL OF ESSEX.

HENRY the Eighth in the great work of the Reformation employed men of various characters and powers, and sagaciously assigned to each that share of the task for which he was best qualified. It was allotted therefore to Cromwell to spring the mine which others had secretly dug, and he accomplished it with a brutal vigour and celerity, which seemed to be the effect of zeal, while his heart and mind were wholly unconcerned. Cromwell was more remarkable for courage than prudence; for activity and perseverance than for reflection: nature, habit, and self-interest had combined to render him implicitly obedient; and gratitude, perhaps, for his extraordinary elevation had inspired him with an inflexible fidelity to his master. A soldier of fortune, a citizen of the world; unbiassed by parental example, or domestic affections; by prejudice of education, or solitary enthusiasm; indifferent about modes of religious faith, and ignorant of political systems; he fell into the hands of Henry at the very moment when such a man was peculiarly necessary to the accomplishment of his views; performed the service required of him; and, but for the singularity and importance of that service, would perhaps long since have been nearly forgotten.

He was the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith, and afterwards a brewer, of Putney, in Surrey, and it has been commonly reported that his mother was a Welshwoman of the name of Williams; but Dugdale, in his Baronage, denies this, and very reasonably traces the error to its probable origin. That author conceives that a sister of Cromwell married a Williams; for, as he truly tells us, Cromwell had a nephew of that name, whom he brought into considerable favour and confidence with the King, and who afterwards assumed the designation of Williams alias Cromwell. This nephew, by the way, at length wholly disused the former surname; founded a respectable family in Huntingdonshire; and became grandfather to the usurper Oliver, a fact which has been denied by some respectable writers, but of which there is scarcely any room to doubt. Thomas, born of such parents, received, as might be reasonably expected, a very narrow education; but he had learned Latin; the New Testament in which language, "gotten by heart," to use the words of Lloyd, "was his masterpiece of scholarship;" and this renders it very probable that it was at first intended to foster him on the monastic bounty of that church, in the destruction of which he afterwards had so large a share. Be this as it might, there can be little doubt that from that, or some other destination, he ran away, to use a familiar phrase, from his family, for we find him suddenly in a foreign country, without friends, money, or views. At length he obtained employment and subsistence as a clerk in an English factory at Antwerp, which he soon quitted, and wandered from thence to Rome, with two Englishmen, who in 1510 were deputed from a religious society at Boston, in Lincolnshire, to solicit the renewal of certain indulgences, or pardons, as they were called, from Pope Julius the Second. He is said to have been highly instrumental to the good fortune of this mission, and Fox, in a long narration, which must rest on the credit of that singular writer, ascribes his success to a ridiculous circumstance. The Pope, according to Fox, took the money which the good Lincolnshire men had brought with them, but the fate of their petition remained long in suspense; till Cromwell, having learned that his Holiness was a great epicure, "furnished him with fine dishes of jelly, after the English fashion, then unknown in Italy," upon which the boon was presently granted. He

remained long abroad, variously employed, and served as a soldier, or officer of ordinary rank, under the Duke of Bourbon, and is said to have been present at the sacking of Rome by that prince; but here seems to be an anachronism; for that event occurred in 1527, and it is certain that he had returned to England, and had been retained by Wolsey, two years before that date.

During his residence in Italy he had an opportunity of rendering an important service to Sir John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, who at that time resided at Bologna, charged by Henry with some secret mission adverse to the French interest. A plan had been laid to seize the person of that gentleman, and to send him a prisoner to Paris. Cromwell discovered it; and not only apprised him of it, but assisted him in making a precipitate escape. It is highly probable that Russell recommended him to the Cardinal, into whose family he was received immediately after that period, in the character, say all who have written concerning him, of that prelate's solicitor; meaning, I presume, as a steward, or agent for such of his affairs as did not relate to the state. In that capacity he was largely employed in 1525, in superintending the erection and endowment of Wolsey's two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, and in suppressing the small monasteries, by the revenues of which it was intended to maintain them. He became soon after a member of the House of Commons, and when the articles exhibited against the Cardinal in 1529 were sent down to that House from the Peers, defended him against the charge of treason with equal boldness and acuteness. "From this honest beginning," says Lord Herbert, "Cromwell obtained his first reputation." He soon, however, assumed a different tone. Henry, at the recommendation, as it is said, of Sir John Russell, and Sir Christopher Hales, afterwards Master of the Rolls, took him nearly at that point of time into his service; and we find his lately disgraced patron presently after "importuning him," to use the words of the same noble author, "to induce the King," so great already was his influence, to spare the two colleges, "since," said Wolsey, "they are in a manner opera manuum tuarum." Cromwell answered that "the King was determined to suppress them, though perhaps he might refound them in his own name, and coldly wished Wolsey to be content."

It has been said that he gained Henry's grace by disclosing to him the oath taken by the Romish clergy, "to help, retain, and defend, against all men, the rights of the Holy See," &c., and representing to him that it was in fact a virtual dispensation from their oath of allegiance to him. Doubtless Henry already well knew that it was their practice to subscribe to such an obligation, and had considered its effect. But then, adds Fox, who tells us so, "he declared also to the King how his Majesty might accumulate great riches; nay, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered;" and we may reasonably suppose that the King, in whose bosom the plan of dissolving the religious houses then secretly rested, must have been highly gratified by such advice from a man to whom he had probably already determined to intrust much of the execution of his scheme, when ripe for disclosure. Cromwell's first employment afforded a most favourable proof of the subserviency and the firmness which Henry had hoped to find in him. He was ordered to endeavour to threaten the clergy, then sitting in convocation, into an acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and to obtain from them a large sum, as a commutation for their punishment for having supported Wolsey's legantine power, and for having taken the oath lately mentioned. He succeeded in both, and extorted one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and nearly twenty thousand from that of York. This occurred in 1531. His favour now became visible to all. He was knighted in that year; sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Master of the King's Jewel House; and in the next, Clerk of the Hanaper, a profitable office in the Chancery, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534 he became Master of the Rolls, and a principal Secretary of State, and was about the same time elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and in 1535 at length appeared publicly in the great part which he was to perform in the Reformation, with the newly invented title of Visitor-general of all the monasteries throughout England.

Spiritual pride is almost unknown to the Church of England. It may therefore be said

without offence that the main object of Cromwell's visitation was the discovery of matters which might render the monastic institutions odious or contemptible, and so to furnish pretexts for their dissolution; and that it was marked by the most frightful instances of cruelty, baseness, and treachery. For these charges we have the authority of very respectable protestant writers. The principals of some religious houses were induced to surrender by threats; those of others by pensions; and, when both those methods failed, the most profligate monks were sought for, and bribed to accuse their governors, and their brethren, of horrible crimes. Agents were employed to violate nuns, and then to accuse them, and, by inference, their respective societies, of incontinence. All who were engaged in this wretched mission took money of the terrified sufferers, as the price of a forbearance which it was not in their power to grant; and Cromwell himself accepted of great sums from several monasteries, to save them from that ruin which he alone knew to be inevitably decreed. He executed his commission, however, entirely to Henry's satisfaction, and received the most splendid rewards. On the second of July, 1536, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal; on the ninth of the same month the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham, in the county of Rutland; and on the eighteenth, the Pope's supremacy being now fully abolished, and the King declared Head of the Church, he was constituted Vicar-general and Vicegerent over all the Spiritualty, and took his place in the convocation, sitting there above all the prelates, as the immediate representative of the King. This appointment was the signal for the total overthrow of the Roman Catholic establishment. Cromwell's first act under its authority was the publication of certain articles for the government of the church, by which some of the most important points of the old faith were specifically rejected. Of the seven sacraments three only were retained; those of baptism, penance, and the altar. Preachers were enjoined to teach the people to confine their belief wholly to the Bible, and the three Creeds, and to restrain them from the worship of images, or saints so represented; and the doctrine of purgatory was denied, or, at least, declared to be uncertain and unnecessary. These articles were immediately followed by the prohibition of worship in the Latin tongue, and by the translation of the Holy Scriptures into English; inestimable benefits, for which our gratitude is justly due to Cromwell, as well as for the great temporal advantage of parish registers, which were at the same time ordained to be kept, solely, as it is believed, on his suggestion.

He was now loaded with new rewards. In 1537 Henry appointed him Justice of the Forests north of Trent, and, on the twenty-sixth of August in that year, gave him the Order of the Garter: In 1538 the castle and lordship of Okeham were granted to him, and the office of Constable of Carisbrook Castle; and, on the seventeenth of April, 1539, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and to the office of Lord High Chamberlain; having on the tenth of the same month been invested with the lands of the dissolved monasteries of St. Osyth's, Barking, Bileigh, St. John in Colchester, and other estates in the county of Essex, consisting of thirty manors; and with extensive possessions in those of Norfolk and Suffolk, among which was the large demesne of the Grey Friars of Yarmouth; together with a multitude of manors, lands, and advowsons, in other parts of England, all from the spoil of the discarded church.

Cromwell, however, thus in the zenith of his greatness, tottered on the brink of ruin. Already hated by the nobility, who viewed him as a base intruder on their order; by the priesthood, whom he had ruined; and by the poor, whom he had deprived of the comforts of monastic hospitality and bounty; he became now an object also of the keenest envy and jealousy. The great house of Vere had been so long graced by the superb office of Lord Chamberlain, which had been successively granted to the Earls of Oxford of that name in succession, even for centuries, that they felt deprived as it were of an inheritance when it was bestowed on him, and the meanness of his origin aggravated their sense of the injury. The family of Bourchier, many branches of which remained, were equally mortified to see the Earldom of Essex diverted from their very ancient blood to that of the son of a smith. The Howards, always powerful, and just then most powerful; and Bishop Gardiner, who

as an enemy was in himself an host, and whose favour with Henry was increasing, detested him. To ward off his danger, he endeavoured to conciliate the people; and to that end procured a commission to be erected for the sale, at twenty years' purchase, of such abbey lands as yet remained with the crown: meanwhile, to divert the attention of Henry from the representations of his enemies, he engaged that Prince in a treaty of marriage with Anne of Cleves, whose Lutheran zeal he hoped successfully to oppose to his Catholic adversaries, and whose gratitude for conducting her to so splendid a throne he expected to secure to himself. The King married her with indifference, and quitted her the next day, with disappointment, and even loathing; but the great weight of his resentment fell on Cromwell, by whom he had been persuaded to wed her.

Henry, from that hour, beheld him with aversion, and agreed, with his usual readiness on such occasions, to sacrifice a man who had no further extraordinary services to render to him. Cromwell was suddenly arrested at the Council Board, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the tenth of January, 1540, and conducted to the Tower; and, on the nineteenth of that month, a bill of attainder against him passed the House of Lords, but was received so coolly by the Commons that they let it remain with them, with little discussion, for ten days, and at length testified their disapprobation of it by returning it to the Upper House, to which at the same time they sent another, prepared by themselves, which the Peers eagerly adopted. Amidst the articles of this new bill not one can be found to amount, even by the most forced construction, to treason; still it was a bill of attainder, and Cromwell, who so well knew his master, prepared for the worst. He addressed himself, however, at great length from his prison to Henry, imploring that his life might be spared; and Cranmer seconded his endeavours with remarkable boldness and freedom of terms, by a remonstrance, which Lord Herbert has preserved. Cromwell's letter betrays a miserable abjectness of spirit, and a remarkable poverty of thought and expression; Cranmer's abounds with that kindness and magnanimity which equally adorned his character. "Wher I have bene accusyd," writes Cromwell, "to your Magestye of treason, to that I say I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllyngly to do that thyng that myght or shold displease your Magestye; and much less to do or say that thyng which of itself is so high and abhominable offence, as God knowyth, who I doubt not shall reveale the trewthe to your Highnes. Myne accusers your Grace knowyth: God forgive them. For, as I have ever had love to your honor, person, lyfe, prosperitye, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and also your most dere and most entyerly belovyd sone, the Prynce his Grace, and your procedyngs; God so helpe me in this myne adversitie, and confound yf ever I thought the contrary. What labors, paynes, and travailes, I have taken, accordyng to my most bounden deutye, God also knowyth: for, yf it were in my power, as it is God's, to make your Magestye to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth I woolde. If it hadde bene, or were, in my power to make ye so rich as ye myght enriche alle men, God helpe me as I wolde do hit. If it had bene or were in my power to make your Magestye so puyssant as all the world sholde be compellyd to obey yow, Christ he knowyth I wolde, for so am I of all other most bounde; for your Magestye hath bene the most bountifull Prynce to me that ever was Kyng to his subject—ye, and more like a dere father (your Magestye not offended) than a master. Such hath bene your most grave and godly counsayle towards me at sundry tymes. In that I have offended I ax yow mercy. Should I now for such exceeding goodness, benygnyte, liberalitie, and bounty, be your traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a traytor to your Magestye, then all the devylls in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God light upon me, yf I sholde once have thought yt, most gracious Soverayn Lord," &c.

While Cromwell thus essayed to move the compassion of Henry by clumsily flattering his ruling appetites, Cranmer, with a noble simplicity, and with an anxiety to serve his friend which almost demands pardon for an impious expression into which it betrayed him, writes thus. "Who cannot but be sorrowfull and amazed that he sholde be a traytor against your Majesty? He that was so advancyed by your Majesty; he who lovyd your

Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he who studyed always to sett forward whatsoever was your Majestie's will and pleasure; he that caryd for no man's displeasuer to serve your Majesty; he that was suche a servant, in my judgement, in wisedome, diligence, faythefulnes, and experyence, as no Prynce in this realme ever had; he that was so vygilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons that fewe colde be so secretly conceyved but he detected the same in the begynnyng? If the noble Prynces, of happy memorye, Kynge John, Henry II, and Richard II, had had such a counsaylor about them, I suppose they sholde never have byn so trayterously abandoned and overthrowen as those good Prynces were," &c. Henry, however, remained unmoved by these, or any other remonstrances; and Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1540.

It has been asserted that this remarkable man also married a person of the name of Williams, but this is very uncertain. Whomsoever might have been his wife, he left by her an only son, Gregory, who was created Baron Cromwell of Okeham on the same day that his father was advanced to the Earldom of Essex; who married Elizabeth, a sister of Queen Jane Seymour; and in whose posterity the title of Lord Cromwell remained for several generations.

Thomas, First Lord Coventry,

Lord Keeper.

From the original of Cornelius Jansen, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon.

Drawn by H. Cousse, & Engraved (with Permission) by J. J. Agar.

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THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY,

LORD KEEPER.

FEW persons of extraordinary and highly deserved eminence have been less spoken of in history than this nobleman; but it is not difficult to discover the reasons. He possessed a sound judgment, an honest heart, and an equable temper; a manly, but well-governed, pride, which equally disdained the servilities of faction and favouritism; and an innate modesty, which kept jealousy and envy always at a distance. A pure conscience had dictated to him that the life of a judge should be almost wholly confined to his court and his closet, and he withheld himself therefore as much as possible from any concern in the affairs of the state. Public men of his character receive the reward of their merits in the praise of their grateful contemporaries, and may be said, to use a familiar phrase, to have but a life interest in their fame. His memory, however, has been celebrated by Lord Clarendon in no common strain of eulogy; and I find in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum, a small, anonymous, and I believe hitherto unpublished and unquoted manuscript, intitled, "Of Thomas Lord Coventrie, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England, some notable observations in the course of his life, and ultimum vale to the world." But for those two sources of intelligence he would have been nearly unknown to us.

His family derived its surname from the town of Coventry, and its fortune was made by John Coventry, who was born there, became a mercer in London, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1425. Thomas, a junior descendant from that John, was a lawyer of eminence, and rose to the degree of a Judge of the Common Pleas. He married Margaret, daughter and heir to a gentleman of the name of Jefferies, of Croome d'Abitot, in the county of Worcester, still the chief seat of the Earls of Coventry, and to them the subject of this memoir was eldest son and heir. He was educated under the eye of his father till the age of fourteen, when he became, in Michaelmas term, 1592, a gentleman commoner of Baliol College, where he remained for three years, and then came to London to study and practise the law, and presently gained the highest reputation in that faculty. "He was of the Inner House of Court," (the Inner Temple) says the Sloane MS. "and no sooner, by an indefatigable diligence in study, attained the barr, but he appeared in the lustre of his profession, above the comon expectation of men of that forme, which he made good in the manifestacon of his exquisite abilities." It was several years, however, before any mark of public favour was bestowed on him, and it is very probable that the profits of his extensive practice had induced him to decline many; at length, on the seventeenth of November, 1616, he was elected Recorder of London; on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, was appointed Solicitor General; and on the sixteenth received the honour of Knighthood at Theobalds. In 1620 he was promoted to the place of Attorney-general, and, soon after the accession of Charles the First, Buckingham, having prevailed on the King to dismiss his old enemy, Bishop Williams, recommended Coventry to succeed to the station, which had been so long held by that prelate, of Lord Keeper, to which he was appointed on the first of November, 1625. His letter to the Duke, signifying his acceptance of that high office, cannot but be esteemed, in every point of consideration, a singular curiosity. The original remains in the Harleian collection.

" May it please yo^r Grace,

I have, according to that liberty and favour w^ch yow were pleased to vouchsafe me, seriously thought of that greate and weighty busines w^ch you propounded att Southampton concerning myself, and do now returne to yo^r Grace that humble and dutifull answere w^ch in this space my carefull thoughts have ministred; wherein I must beginn w^th a syncere and harty acknowledgem^ent of that abondant goodnes of his Ma^tie that hath bene pleased to cast his eye upon so meane a servant, and so highly to accept those poore services w^ch, w^th a faythefull hart, but a weake hand, I have desyred to perform to his Ma^tie, and his blessed father, as to think of so emmenent an advancement for me, his unworthy minister. And I do likewise acknowledg to yo^r Grace all the duty and thankes that can take hold of a faythefull and true hart, that both in this, and in all other occasions that have concerned me, have, out of yo^r owne noblenes, interceded for me to his Ma^tie and his royall father. And, howsoever the greatnes and weight of that place, beyond mine ability, have putt me into some perplexity of thoughts, yet, from yo^r first moc^on, I did, and ev^r shall, blesse and magnifie God, that hath moved the hart of his Ma^tie and yo^r Grace to be so gracious and indulgente towards me.

Now, concerning the matter itself, I did at Southampton syncerely propound to yo^r Grace those reasons, proceeding from myne owne weaknes, w^ch might move me to declyne it, and might move his Ma^tie to think of a more able and complete man to undergoe so weighty a service: and, having synce that tyme thought thereof again and again, I fynd nothing to abate in me the sense of myne owne infirmities, or to deliv^r me from my feares, but his Ma^tie's thryce greate grace and goodnes, and the assurance I have of yo^r most noble and constant favour. But these, together w^th that dutyfull obediens w^ch I owe to all his Ma^tie's com^andements, bredd a great conflict in myself against those disabilityes whereof I am most conscious to myself, and have produced in me this resolucion; to lay myself in all humility and submission at the feet of my Soveraigne, to dispose of me as shall seeme best to his owne princely wisdome and goodnes; w^ch if it be that way as yo^r Grace told me his Highnes did inclyne, I shall dutifully obey, and faythefully undergoe it; my hope being that God, and the King's Ma^tie, will beare w^th my infirmities, and accept my true hart, and willing endevour: and, if his Ma^tie shall determyne otherwise, as it may be much better for his servyce and the publique, so it wilbe more agreable to my course of lief and disposic^on, and to that more private way w^ch my thoughts have bene addicted to; and, w^ch way ever it fall, I wilbe, as I am most bounden,

Yo^r Grace's most humble and faythefull servant,

Kingsbury,
13 Septe^br, 1625.

THOMAS COVENTRYE."

Some fugitive political pieces of his time, or shortly after, have placed him among the creatures of Buckingham, but the imputation is wholly unsupported by any respectable historical evidence. In the letter before us, written on an occasion so likely to produce, and perhaps almost to justify, the hyperbolical flattery which was so much the fashion of that day, we find only the manly expressions of a genuine gratitude, and a respectful courtesy. But we can have no better proof of the untruth of the charge than from an anecdote in the pamphlet of Sir Anthony Welden, who never failed to vilify, and sometimes very falsely, those whom the Duke peculiarly favoured, or by whom he was notoriously courted. Buckingham, according to that writer, had endeavoured to persuade the King to grant to him the dormant appointment of Lord High Constable, an office of such exorbitant power that royalty itself had been known to tremble at it. The Lord Keeper had honestly advised the King to refuse: " but Buckingham's ambition," continues Welden, " would not be so bounded; for, upon the opposing it by Coventry, he peremptorily thus accosted him, saying, ' who made you, Coventry, Lord Keeper?' He replied, ' the King.' Buckingham sur-replied, ' It's false, 'twas I did make you; and you shall know that I, who made you, can, and will, unmake you.' Coventry thus answered him, ' Did I conceive I held my place by your favour, I would presently unmake myself, by

rendering the seal to his Majesty.' Then Buckingham in a scorn and fury flung from him, saying 'you shall not keep it long;' and surely, had not Felton prevented him, he had made good his word." The few enemies indeed that he had were made so by his independence and his sincerity. The Marquis of Hamilton, "whose interest in the King's affections," to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and who had more out-faced the law in bold projects, and pressures on the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do;" never forgave his obstinate refusal to affix the great seal to an illegal patent for an impost invented by the Marquis; and he was hated by the Earl of Manchester, who had been bred a lawyer, and who, according to the same noble writer, "was unhappily too much used as a check upon the Lord Keeper," when he perplexed the counsels and designs of the King's misadvisers by inconvenient objections in law.

But the character given of him by Lord Clarendon, in his glorious review of the court and ministers of Charles, however long, and already many times reprinted, must be repeated here, without diminution.

"He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom, and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place, but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning men, justled each the other too much. He knew the temper, disposition, and genius, of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many who stood at a distance thought he was not active and stout enough in opposing these innovations; for, though by his place he presided in all publick counsels, and was most sharp-sighted in the consequence of things, yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which he well knew were for the most part concluded before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgement could well have comprehended; nor indeed freely in any thing but what immediately and plainly concern'd the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procur'd references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity but a severity, and even some morosity, yet it was so happily temper'd, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners."

"He had in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believ'd, the only justifiable design of eloquence; so that though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclin'd to gratify when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying, yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will and ill wishes. But then this happy temper, and these good faculties, rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnish'd him with any fast and unshaken friends, who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with: so that he was a man rather exceedingly liked than passionately loved; insomuch that it never appeared that he had any one friend in court of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to; and therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as much as he could, and stood upon his defence, without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs which he knew well he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude, his security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the King; and he died in a season most opportune, in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world."

To remove from this character any possible suspicion which might arise of prejudices derived from private friendship, political agreement, or professional intimacy, let us hear the censures of the Sloane MS., written, as we shall see, by one who conceived himself to have received a cruel injury from the object of his praise. It discloses too, and with a pen of no small power, many particulars which Lord Clarendon has omitted.

"The character of his outward man was this—Hee was of a middle stature; somewhat broad and roundfaced; of hayre black; and upright in his comportment and gesture; of complection sanguine, and of a comely aspect and presence. Hee was of a very fyne and grave elocution, in a kinde of gracefull lisping; so that when nature might seeme to cast something of imperfecc̃on on his speech, on due examinac̃on, shee added a grace to the perfecc̃on of his delivery; for his words rather flowed from him in a kind of native pleasingnes then by any artificiall helpe or assistance. Hee was of a very liberall accesse, and to all addresses presented, affable; and, as hee was of a very quick apprehenc̃on, soe was he of an exceeding judicious and expeditious dispatch in all affairs, either of state or of the trybunall; of hearing patient and attentive, and, that w^ch is not usually incident to p̃sons of dignitie and place, seldom in any distempered mood, or moc̃on of choller; and it was none of his meanest comendac̃ons that he was an helper, or coadjutor, of counsell at the barr, and understood better what they would have said in the case than what they sometymes did say for their clyents; soe that there appeared in his constituc̃on a kind of naturall and unaffected insinuac̃on, to creep into the good opinion of all men, rather than any affected greatnes to discountenance any, but never rashly to discontent many. Through the whole course of his life his fortune was so obsequious that it seemed she alwayes waited upon him with a convoy, for in all the stepps of his rise he had ever an even and smooth passage, without any rubb or mate in the check. For his erudition, and acquisic̃ons of art, though all knew hee was learned in the sciences, and most profound in his profession, yet, such was the happines of his constellac̃on, that he rather leaned to his native strength then depended on any artificiall relyance. Without doubt hee was of a most solid and im̃oveable temper, and voyd of all pride and ostentation; neither was he ever in any umbrage or disfavour with his Prince, an argument both of his wisdome and sinceritie; neither in any fraction with his equalls worthie of exception, for that of my Lord of Suffolk's business was an act of his that told the world in how little esteeme hee held greatnes that would justle and stand in competition with justice; and it is remaining among the best of his memorialls that hee alwayes stood impregnable, and not to bee ov'come by might. Amongst all and the many felicities of his life, that of his short sicknes, and the willing embracement of death with open armes, were of the most remarkable observac̃on, for it is our finis qui coronat opus; and changes our mortalitie into that of imortall glorie; for his sicknes was not contynued with any lingring, or loathsome languishing, nor soe precipitate as that it bereaved him of the abilitie of disposing of his estate to the contentment of his posteritie, or hindred the composing of his thoughts to another and better worlde."

"If in the breife collection of the state of this noble man's fortune it may fall into susspic̃on that I had some relac̃on to his p̃son, or in some one respect or other was obliged to his . . . . . , I assume the liberty to tender this testimonie to the world—that I nev' had refference at any tyme to his service, onely in such addresses as fell unto my lott as a suppliant I had ever the honor of a free accesse, with libertie to speake as I could, and as occasion, and the cause required; but, that which best may satisfie the suspicions that I have given myself the least scope of partialitie or flattery, either in favour or affecc on, it is that I beleeve noe subject ever suffred in that degree in losse of estate as I myselfe have endured, and onely by a rule of his owne, in suspending my sute in the Starchamber, the cause depending before in chancery, untill it had there a fynall determynac̃on, whereby I was debarred," &c.

"He enjoyed his place," says Lord Clarendon, "with universal reputation," (or, rather, to use the words of Lloyd, who bestows on him a meagre page or two, "his place enjoyed him") "for nearly sixteen years, and sure justice was never better administered." Of all public men, in all times, he seems to have left the most unblemished reputation. The

Sloane MS. mentions two grounds of aspersion against him, and two only, and defends him against each; the one, an imputation on his conduct towards some individual suitor, which has been long since forgotten, and of which no hint is any where else to be met with; the other a mere rumour, founded on envious and uncharitable inference. "He had a noble fame," says the MS., "not that he past unaccused, for envy is a constant follower and persecutor of all greatnes, and detraccon an utter enemy of desert. The cheif charge against him was that of Bonham Norton, wherein the best and most impartiall judgements consent that his accuser and clyent was much to blame in the error of his accompt between a judge of equitye and a quondam advocate, and in a case where the accuser had before received ample satisfaccon by the advantage and rigor of the law." And, in reply to those who had whispered that so great a fortune as his could scarcely have been honestly acquired, we find this passage—"Howsoever, thus much I say: that, could he have been lymned to the life, and I believe it, wee should not fynd in him much of blemish; and that the mayne objection vulgarly inferred on the amassinge of his wealth could not well be done in justice, might be answered to the full in this—that, his patrimonie considered, it was the gainefullness of the places he past through, together with the great fortunes of his own, and his sonne's, intermarriages, all concurring, and falling into a frugall family, might soon wipe away all imputacons of the most malignant, and perswade even detraccon itself to suffer him to rest in peace, and, as wee may charitably beleeve, in glory, as his posteritie surviving remaines in his honor and fortunes." Wood quotes a single line against him from an infamous libel published during the usurpation.

The Lord Keeper Coventry sat for between two and three years in his high office before he was advanced to the peerage, but on the tenth of April, 1628, the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Coventry, of Aylesborough, in the county of Worcester. He died, at Durham House, in the Strand, on the fourteenth of January, 1639-40, and was buried at Croome d'Abitot, having been twice married: first, to Sarah, daughter to Edward Sebright, of Besford, in that county, and sister to Sir Edward Sebright, Bart., by whom he had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir John Hare, of Stow Bardolph, in Norfolk, and an only son, Thomas, his successor, of whom his mother died in childbirth. "He marryed and interred his first love," says the Sloane MS., "in the fruyt of his primogenitus, now surviving, a Baron and Peere of the realme." He remarried to Elizabeth, daughter to John Aldersey, of Spurstow, in Cheshire, and widow of William Pitchford, a citizen, and, as the same MS. informs us, "lovely, young, rich, and of good fame." She brought him four sons, John, Francis, Henry, and William, of whom the first, third, and fourth, became men of high distinction in the state; and as many daughters, all highly celebrated for their talents and their virtues, particularly the youngest, Dorothy, who, among several eminent persons, seems to stand the first candidate for the pious honour of having written "the whole Duty of Man," together with the several other valuable treatises acknowledged by the anonymous author of that inestimable work. Those ladies were Anne, married to Sir William Savile, of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, Bart., father, by her, to George, Marquis of Halifax; Mary, to Henry Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, from which match the Marquisses of Bath; Margaret, to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury; and Dorothy, to Sir John Pakington, of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, Bart.

Lord Coventry published two or three small pieces which are scarcely worth naming—"An Answer to the Petition against Recusants"—"Perfect and exact Directions to all those that desire to know the true and just Fees of all the Offices belonging to the Court of Common Pleas, Chancery," &c. Many of his speeches in Parliament are also to be met with in print; and a MS. remains among the Sloane papers, written by him, conjointly with Sir Julius Cæsar, intituled "Ordinances for the redress of sundry errors, defaults, and abuses, in the High Court of Chancery."

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the original in the Collection of

His Grace, The Archbishop of Canterbury.

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MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE Church of England owes perhaps more to this wise and good man than to any of the reformers who preceded him, and who may have left a higher fame. They rased to the foundation the vast and venerable edifice of the ancient religion, and hastily erected in its stead a pile of discordant materials, without strength or symmetry; he cemented the unconnected parts, smoothed irregularities, and supplied deficiencies. They were the slaves of a furious and interested tyrant, and of their own yet baser interests; he the honest and incorrupt servant of a prudent sovereign, and the faithful minister of Christianity. They had incurred the suspicion of many by eagerly adopting a new system of faith; he gained the confidence of all by strenuously supporting that in which he had been bred. Their career had been marked by force and persecution; his was distinguished by patience and benignity.

He was born in the parish of St. Saviour, in Norwich, on the sixth of August, 1504, eldest of the three sons of William Parker, a citizen and woollen manufacturer of that town, but of a gentleman's family, or, in other words, of a family bearing armorial ensigns. His mother was Alice, a descendant from the respectable house of Monyns, of Suffolk and Kent. He was well educated for the clerical profession, first in his father's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in September, 1522, and on the twentieth of the ensuing March was chosen a scholar of Benet, now Corpus Christi, College, a foundation which offered some peculiar advantages to young men born in his city. He remained at Cambridge for twelve years; took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained deacon and priest, elected a fellow of his college, and created master of arts. It is almost needless to observe that the universities at that period ostensibly submitted themselves to the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of Rome; but the reformation was dawning, and Parker was one of many protestant divines, afterwards of great eminence, who met, with little more secrecy than was required by mere decorum, to pave the way for its progress. This disposition, joined to the fame which he had acquired, not only for his talents and erudition, but as an admirable preacher, attracted the notice of the Court, and in 1535 he was suddenly and unexpectedly summoned thither, to take on himself the office of a domestic chaplain to Anne Boleyn, by whom he was soon after presented to the deanery of the college of Stoke Clare, in Suffolk.

After the death of that unfortunate lady he was retained by Henry as one of his own chaplains. In 1538 he took the degree of doctor in divinity; in 1541 obtained a prebend of Ely, and a rectory in that diocese; and in 1544 was elected master of Benet College, and soon after vice-chancellor of the University, which office he served again in the year 1547. Under Edward the sixth he was appointed a prebendary of Lincoln, and in the same month, July, 1552, was elected Dean of that church. In the following year Mary deprived him of all his preferments, but suffered him to remain unmolested in obscurity during her reign.

Elizabeth, on her accession, committed chiefly to Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper, and Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, the arduous task of superintending the infant ecclesiastical establishment. The former of those great men had been the intimate friend and fellow collegian of Parker, and probably first recommended him to the Queen's especial favour; but the raising him, without intermediate steps, to the exalted

dignity which awaited him, must have been the result of her own judgment of his character, and of her own private determination. The see of Canterbury had been for nearly a year vacant, when, on the ninth of December, 1558, Bacon signified to Parker the Queen's design to advance him to a Bishopric, which he declined. He was again and again summoned to London by the Lord Keeper and the Secretary, but, under various pretences, constantly refused. It is a curious trait of the simplicity and superstition of the time that Bacon should have ascribed, as appears by Parker's answer to one of that minister's letters, his backwardness to a dread inspired by a prophecy of Nostradamus; undoubtedly, however, it arose from the modesty and humility of the man, and Nolo Episcopari was perhaps never in any other instance uttered with such sincerity of heart—"What with passing those hard years of Mary's reign," says he, in one of his letters to Cecil, published by Strype, "in obscurity, without all conference, or such matter of study as now might do me service; and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness; I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise up my heart and stomach to utter in talk with others that which with my pen I can express indifferently without great difficulty." At length, on the twenty-eighth of May, he received the Queen's positive command to repair to her presence, which he obeyed, and received from her his nomination to the Primacy; but his consecration was deferred till the seventeenth of December, and it may be worth observing that the private and simple manner in which that ceremony was conducted gave occasion to a silly report, which the Catholics industriously propagated, that it was performed at a tavern in Cheapside. This was revived by the fanatics, in the beginning of the grand rebellion; great pains were taken by some churchmen to invalidate the story of the Nag's Head consecration, as it was called; and they proved by positive evidence that it took place in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

Parker's first care was to secure the independence of the new hierarchy. An act had passed in the late Parliament to enable the Queen, on the vacation of any bishopric, to appropriate to herself such part of its temporalties as she might choose to possess, and to give in exchange such portions of abbey lands, or other estates vested in the Crown, as she might deem equivalent. Convinced that no establishment could be safe whose governors must be subject either to the absolute control of the Crown, or to the reproach of poverty, he laboured earnestly with Elizabeth to persuade her to relinquish this right, and, though she exercised it with respect to his own see soon after he was appointed to preside in it, in a great measure finally succeeded. He swept away gradually, and with a gentle hand, the numerous remains of the Romish system which yet clung to the church, and, to render his efforts palatable to the people, began with the Queen herself. Elizabeth, who still prostrated herself, in her chapel and in her closet, before a crucifix, and was firmly averse to the marriage of priests, yielded those prejudices to the arguments of Parker. He defended the reformation with equal zeal and moderation in a correspondence with the ejected Catholic prelates, and engaged warmly with Calvin in forming a plan for the uniformity of faith and discipline among Protestants throughout Europe, the fruition of which was unhappily prevented by the death of that extraordinary man, whose fame has been unjustly sullied by the subsequent extravagances of the sect which derives its name from him, for Calvin himself was averse neither to monarchy nor episcopacy.

At length it became necessary, for the establishment of the reformed faith, and of an ecclesiastical polity, on known laws, to summon a synod, or convocation, which met on the twelfth of January, 1562. In that assembly Parker proposed the thirty-nine articles which form the code of the Church of England, and of which he may be considered in a great measure as the author, and they were, after the most grave and minute deliberation, enacted. Elizabeth's second Parliament met on the same day, and its first employment was to pass an act "for the assurance of the Queen's power over all estates." This statute was peculiarly aimed at the Papal pretensions, and the oath of supremacy, which had been framed by the preceding Parliament, was recited in it, and imperatively prescribed to many descriptions of persons, but particularly to the clergy, under the penalty of a præmunire for the first refusal, and of the laws against high treason for the second. The

Archbishops and Bishops were appointed to administer this oath to ecclesiastics, but Parker foresaw the misery which must follow the rigorous exaction of it, and turned with horror from an engine which could be worked only amidst persecution and bloodshed. He wrote therefore a letter, to be circulated with the utmost secrecy among his brother prelates, to which, with much difficulty, he obtained the Queen's consent, exhorting them not in any case to tender the oath a second time, but, on one refusal, to leave the contumacious party to be dealt with by himself. This excellent letter concluded thus—"Praying your Lordship not to interpret mine advertisement as tending to shew myself a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted subjects which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of the realm, thus by God's providence quietly reposed; and which also do envy the continuance of us all, so placed by the Queen's favour as we be; but only in respect of a fatherly and pastoral care, which must appear in us, which be heads of his flocks, not to follow our private affection and hearts, but to provide, coram Deo et hominibus, for saving and winning of others, if it may be obtained." In the end, through his perseverance in this merciful course, that frightful law became nearly a dead letter, and the oath was administered to none of the Popish prelates, or other clergy, except the odious Bonner. Through this, and many other instances of moderation and beneficence towards those unfortunate men, he actually acquired their love. Tonstall, and Thirleby, the deprived Bishops of Durham and Norwich, Boxall, late Dean of Windsor, and others, whom the Privy Council had thought fit to commit to his custody, passed the latter years of their lives in his houses, enjoying a tranquillity perhaps before unknown to them; guests to his hospitality, and prisoners only to their own gratitude.

From the Romanists, subdued by past severity and succeeding conciliation, the Church of England had now little to dread, when from her own bosom issued a host of enemies yet more formidable. These were the Puritans, as they were then called, whom we have since seen split into so many sects of various denominations. Originally without any specific design, and animated by the simple operation of discontent and folly, they fell furiously on the caps, and hoods, and tippets, of the churchmen, and by an incessant outcry, uttered in the foulest language that ever disgraced the pulpit or the press, at length necessarily called forth the attention of the Primate. He renewed his endeavours to establish an uniformity of worship, and his interference proved but the signal for new murmurs. All the exterior decencies of devotion were reviled as remnants of popery, and ecclesiastical property was viewed merely as the means of supporting spiritual pride. These people had for their chief patron the abandoned Earl of Leicester, and the bickerings which followed between that unworthy favourite and Parker tended much to embitter the remainder of the good man's life. The Archbishop, however, in concert with some other members of the ecclesiastical commission, composed in 1564 certain articles respecting the public administration of the sacraments, and the apparel of the clergy, but the Privy Council, at the instigation of Leicester, refused to confirm them; he was therefore obliged to publish them on his own authority, and they were utterly disregarded. Amidst these differences he was deeply engaged in superintending that edition of the Scriptures which is known by the name of the Bishops' Bible, because he had allotted a portion to each of the Bishops for his revisal and correction, reserving to himself the final control over the whole.

The last ten years of this excellent prelate's life were passed between vain endeavours to prevent the ascendancy of the Puritans, and to ward off the blows aimed at himself by the courtiers who supported them. Continually thwarted in the execution of his high functions; maligned by a multiplicity of libels; his credit undermined with the people, and, through the intrigues of Leicester and some others, failing with the Queen; he lived in fact under a persecution, and was perhaps saved by death from undeserved impeachment, or at least disgrace. Within a few weeks even before his departure, and probably while he laboured under his last illness, a virulent and wholly undisguised attack was made on him, by printing a translation of the section relating to himself, in a small history in Latin of Benet College and its successive Masters, preserved in manuscript in that house, and stuffing it with the most scurrilous ribaldry in the shape of notes. The character of

this vile and vulgar publication may be fairly inferred from its title—"The life off the 70 Archbishopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englished, and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin. This number off seventy is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last." This may serve as a specimen of the innumerable pamphlets of the same cast by which he was about that time assailed.

Archbishop Parker had been long afflicted by the stone, and in March, 1575, experienced a terrible attack of that complaint, which continued for many weeks with little intermission. During his illness he wrote many letters to the Queen and Burghley on the state of the Church, with a fervency which the pains of death even increased. His last letter to the Treasurer concludes with a presage of the awful times which were approaching. "I am not much led," says he, "by worldly prophecy, and yet, I cannot tell how, this old verse recourseth oft to my head—Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent." He died at Lambeth, on the seventeenth of May, and was interred in his private chapel there; but his remains were torn from their grave by the Puritan regicide who then inhabited the archiepiscopal palace, and, with a refinement of brutality, which has been since imitated only by the revolutionary atheists of France, buried in a dunghill. He married, in 1547, Margaret, daughter of Robert Harleston, of Matsal, in Norfolk. This was the lady to whom Elizabeth, after one of the great banquets given to her by Parker, said, alluding to the untitled dignity of an Archbishop's wife—"And you, Madam I may not call you, and Mistress I am ashamed to call you; so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you." He had by her four sons: John, who married, and established a family in the county of Kent; Matthew, who died an infant; a second Matthew, who also married, but left no posterity; and Joseph, who died a bachelor.

This prelate was profoundly learned, and his erudition was ornamented by a zealous taste for antiquarian research. We are indebted to him for the publication of four of our best early English historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser, whose Life of King Ælfred he printed in Saxon characters, to encourage the study of that tongue. He published, in 1572, the lives of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, under the title of "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et priveligiis Ecclesiæ Cantuarensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX," most of the copies of which want his own life, and it is this work that the libel lately mentioned affects to complete. Doctor Blague, Dean of Rochester, and rector of Lambeth, and some other learned men, are supposed to have largely assisted him in collecting and composing it. He wrote also a Defence of the Marriages of Priests; and translated Ælfric's Saxon version of an ancient Latin homily, proving that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was used by the Saxons. The University of Cambridge, and his archiepiscopal houses, afford ample testimony of his munificence and disinterestedness. He founded two fellowships, and ten scholarships, in Benet College (to the library of which he gave his invaluable collection of manuscripts) and a scholarship in Trinity Hall; made many valuable additions to the University library, and large presents of plate to several of the Colleges; and repaired and ornamented the palaces of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Beakesborne, purchasing, at a vast expense, the comfort and convenience of his successors.

Elizabeth of York,

Queen to Henry the Seventh.

From the original in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Essex

Drawn by H. Crease, & Engraved (with Permission) by W.J. Fry

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QUEEN ELIZABETH, OF YORK,

WIFE TO KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

Elizabeth Plantagenet, the passive instrument of terminating the mighty contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, was the eldest of the five daughters of King Edward the fourth, by his Queen, Elizabeth Widevile. She was born in the palace of Westminster, on the eleventh of February, 1466, the year after her father's marriage. It has been said that Edward's first intention was to bestow her on George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, and it is not improbable, surrounded as he was by dangers in the commencement of his reign, that he might then have meditated so to purchase the attachment of one of the most powerful of his subjects. Security, however, naturally dictated higher views, and she was engaged, by the treaty of Amiens, in 1475, to the Dauphin, afterward Charles the eighth; and the Duchy of Guienne, or an equivalent in treasure, assigned as her dower. For the eight succeeding years the match was considered as certain: she was constantly styled in her father's court, and in that of France, "Madame la Dauphine:" in 1478 Edward sent Sir Richard Tonstall, and Langton, a civilian, to perform in Paris the ceremony of solemnly betrothing, and a new treaty, in terms more strict and wary than the former, was soon after signed. Louis the eleventh, however, the most faithless as well as the most acute politician of his time, having cultivated as long as was necessary to his great objects the amity of England by these repeated assurances, in 1483 suddenly threw off the mask, and married his son to the heiress of Burgundy; and Edward, in the midst of mighty warlike preparations to avenge himself of the affront, was taken off by death.

The widowed Queen, and her offspring, became now the most wretched family of the realm. Elizabeth, who had reached the age of sixteen, fled with her mother from the persecution of her uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the third, to sanctuary at Westminster, and remained in that miserable security while the tyrant imbrued his hands in the blood of her brothers, and of her maternal relations, and seized the crown. In the meantime, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose power and policy had mainly contributed to raise him to it, became suddenly, from causes which have been differently represented by historians, his bitter enemy, and conspired with Morton, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Primate, to place Henry Earl of Richmond on the throne. In order to fortify his title and personal interest, as well as to unite the two great parties from whose contention such miseries had already ensued, they agreed, in the first place, to propose to Margaret Countess of Richmond, his mother, and to the Queen Dowager, that he should marry the Princess Elizabeth. The negociation was full of difficulty and danger. Sir Reginald Bray, a friend of Morton's, and a servant to the Countess, was commissioned to open it to his mistress, who joyfully engaged in it, and dispatched Lewis, her physician, to lay it before the Queen, then in her voluntary imprisonment. The Queen returned for answer, says Hollinshed, "that all King Edward's friends and dependants should join with her for the Earl of Richmond, on condition that he took his corporal oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, her eldest daughter; or, in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her youngest daughter;" and sent her chaplain, Christopher Urswick, to make the overture in her name to Richmond, then in Bretagne, to whom Morton had already presented himself, on the part of Buckingham; meanwhile Bray, and a few other confidential men, were busily employed at home in forming a party of persons of rank and influence, taking from each an oath of fidelity and secrecy. Richmond readily agreed to every part of the plan;

disclosed it to the Duke of Bretagne, from whom he received a promise of money and troops to support his landing in England; and, on Christmas day, 1483, swore solemnly, in the cathedral of Rennes, to abide by the terms proposed by the Queen Dowager.

A design of such extent and magnitude could not long have escaped the penetration of Richard. He peremptorily summoned Buckingham to his presence, who, conscious that he had now no choice between death on the scaffold and the chance of war, suddenly appeared in arms; was abandoned by his men; betrayed by an old servant; and beheaded at Salisbury. The Earl of Richmond was attainted, and, narrowly escaping from the treachery of the favourite minister of the Duke of Bretagne, who had been bribed by Richard to deliver him up, fled to the court of France, and was received with coolness. Richard, flushed with these successes, and knowing that the hopes of the adverse party were founded chiefly on the marriage, conceived the extravagant design of offering his own hand, though he had already a wife, to his niece the Princess Elizabeth. The Queen Dowager, whose unpardonable conduct at that period is spoken of more at large in another part of this work, was prevailed on by that marvellous address of which he was so eminent a master, to quit her sanctuary; to put that Princess, and her four sisters, into his hands; and to use all her endeavours to attach to his interest those whom she had so lately persuaded to espouse the cause of Henry. While these strange circumstances were passing Richard's Queen died, at a moment so convenient to his plan as to render it ridiculous to speak of suspicion of foul play, and he now made his addresses publicly to Elizabeth, who rejected them with the abhorrence which might naturally be expected. Buck, a good antiquary, but a wretched historian, who, for the sake of contradicting Sir Thomas More, wrote that rhapsodical life of Richard the third on which Lord Orford founded his "Historic Doubts," quotes, it is true, a letter from that Princess to the Duke of Norfolk, which he tells us was preserved in the Arundelian collection, in which she made the most extravagant professions of her love to the usurper; but the whole context of her history, and indeed of that of her time, discredits almost the possibility of the fact. To return however to truth, Henry, having obtained some slender succours from the French Regency, took up his quarters at Rouen, for his more ready correspondence with his friends in England, and from thence, despairing now of obtaining Elizabeth, sent an offer of marriage to the sister of Sir Walter Herbert, a man of princely wealth and power in Wales, through whose means he hoped to secure the support of that country. Fortunately for him, his agent found it impossible to reach the place of his destination, for, had that treaty succeeded, the whole of those Yorkists who had promised him their support would have abandoned his cause. The Welsh, however, were already nearly unanimous in his favour, and his news from England scarcely less encouraging. He sailed from the coast of France in August, 1485, and landed at Haverfordwest; and Richard, whom this critical state of affairs had obliged to suspend his suit to Elizabeth, advanced to meet his rival, and was slain in Bosworth Field.

The Princess was at that time confined in the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire. She was invited to repair to London with all speed, and Henry, while she was on her journey, renewed to his Privy Council his promise to marry her. He had secretly determined, however, to defer the consummation till after his coronation, from a jealous apprehension that some inference of a participation of title with his Queen might be drawn from the fact of their being crowned together, and still more from a hope that the Parliament might be prevailed on previously to settle, as indeed it did, the crown on himself solely. At length, on the eighteenth of January, 1486, the marriage was solemnized with uncommon pomp, and celebrated by the whole people of the realm with a joy scarcely ever paralleled on any similar occasion; but the coronation of the Queen was unaccountably deferred till the twenty-fifth of November, 1488, to the great disgust of the friends to her family, whom indeed Henry held in a degree of hatred which the coldness and cunning of his nature was insufficient to enable him wholly to dissemble.

Elizabeth's history, as connected with public affairs, closes with her marriage; and the rudeness, the ignorance, or the fears, of those who have written of the royal persons of her

time have left the circumstances of her domestic life almost wholly unrevealed. Lord Bacon tells us that the King, "all his life time, shewed himself no indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful; but that his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed." If she loved her mother with that genuine filial tenderness, which is always heightened by participation in calamity, she could not possibly have cherished much affection for her husband, who persecuted the Queen Dowager till her death with a severity far beyond the measure even of the offence which she has been here stated to have offered to him. One of the first acts of his reign was to seize all her estates, and personal property, and to imprison her for her life, without any legal proceeding, in the monastery of Bermondsey.

Queen Elizabeth of York died in childbirth, in the Tower of London, on her birth-day, the eleventh of February, 1502, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; having borne to Henry three sons, and four daughters, in the following order: Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died of a consumption, at Ludlow Castle, on the second of April, 1502, in the sixteenth year of his age; Henry, who succeeded to his father's crown; Edmund, created Duke of Somerset, who died at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, about one year after his birth; Margaret, married first to James the fourth, King of Scotland, and secondly to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus; Elizabeth, who died at Eltham, on the fourteenth of September, 1495, between the third and fourth years of her age; Mary, wife of Louis the twelfth, King of France, afterwards married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and Catherine, the infant who caused her mother's death, and scarcely survived her.

Walter, First Lord Aston.

From the original, in the Poſſeſſion of

Thomas Blount Eſqr.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell. & Engraved (with Permiſſion) by R. Cooper.

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WALTER, FIRST LORD ASTON.

THE history of an ambassador, especially of one distinguished by his fidelity, presents a theme peculiarly unpropitious to the biographer. Removed to a foreign land; withdrawn, in a great measure, there from the common habits and accidents of society, and moving ever in an assumed form; we lose sight even of the private character of the man, while we seek in vain through public functions which are frequently scarcely visible, for motives which are always shrouded in impenetrable secrecy. After-ages are, it is true, sometimes gratified by the developement of such arcana, but of the ministry of this nobleman we have at present within our reach only a few scattered remains. A great treasure however of his diplomatic papers has lately been discovered in his family mansion, and a zealous and accomplished descendant from him has promised to open it to public view.

Walter Aston, the heir male of a most ancient Staffordshire house, of which Fuller, in his Worthies, singularly says, "I have not met with a more noble family, measuring on the level of flat and unadvantaged antiquity," was the eldest son of Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall, in that county, by Anne, only daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, in Warwickshire. He was born on the ninth of July, 1584, at Charlecote, and baptised there. Of the place and method of his education we are uninformed, but he has left abundant proofs that it was of the most perfect of that class usually termed polite. The completion of it he probably owed to the care of the celebrated lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, to whom, on his father's death, in 1597, he was given by Elizabeth in wardship, and by whom there can be little doubt that he was first brought to London, and to the Court. He was appointed one of the Knights of the Bath at the coronation of James, and was created a Baronet in 1611, among the first on whom that title was conferred.

The families of Aston and Villiers were neighbours in the country, and it is by no means unlikely that his intimacy with Buckingham, who appeared at court soon after him, might have arisen originally from that circumstance. Certain, however, it is that he was distinguished by that prodigious favourite immediately on his sudden accession to power, and an attachment was formed between them which lasted uninterruptedly, and indeed gradually increased, till the Duke's death; for Buckingham, to a warmth of heart which frequently led him to favour for a time unworthy objects, joined that just decision of judgment, as well as of affection, which can alone form the basis of solid friendship; and Aston, at once affectionate and candid, polite and firm, wise and modest, presented to him a character of all others formed to gain his fullest regard. At Buckingham's instance he was sent in 1619, to manage the treaty, so distinguished in our history, for the marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and remained there for several years. Of circumstances relating personally to himself during that tedious embassy, nothing has been hitherto known but that he wasted on it a very considerable part of his great estate; and of his public conduct in it little more has transpired. From a few letters however in the Cabala, and from some others in the Harleian collection, I have been able to collect several valuable notices of each, the most material of which I shall give here in their original form. They furnish, too, some curious hints of the imbecility and vacillation of James, and his counsels. It appears from the first letter which occurs, written a few weeks after his arrival at Madrid, that he had been suffered to set out on his expedition at his own sole expence, and that no specific provision had been made for his reimbursement. It is addressed, as indeed are all the rest, to the Duke, then Marquis, of Buckingham.

" My most honnord Lord,

I have sent unto M^r. Sec^rie the bills of my journey into Spayne, according to the ordinary cours, to have them allowed by the principall Sec^rie, and I know they will pass much the sooner thorrow his hands if your Lo^p will pleass to express unto him the least of yo^r care of me. I press not this w^th intention presently to clammor for the monney, but to keepe the pace of presidents of the same kinde; and, though I receive nothing as yett, I shalbe yet glad to have it become a debt unto me as soon as others. My preparations before I sate out on my journey, my provisions, and charge here, will rais my first yeer's expences to above 7 thowsand pownde, w^ch beeinge too great for me, w^thout some helpe, to beare, I do humbly desire to know, by a favourable advertisement from yo^r Lo^p when I may beginn to call for part of such sommes as will become dew unto me; for I shall rather ruin my owne fortune then doe anythinge heare too meane for that honnowre his Ma^tie hath conferd upon me, and theare cowld nothinge fall more heavy upon me then to be forst to make a sute of burden to his Ma^tie. I shall humbly therfore desire to understand fully yo^r Lo^p's pleasure concerninge my present request, for I desire nothinge but what may be w^th his Ma^tie's content, and by yo^r Lo^p's direction.

I have found that the testimonies of his Ma^tie's good opinion of me, w^th yo^r perticuler respect and favowre, w^ch they have taken notice of heare, hath layde me a good fondation, and made me acceptable at first; and the continewance of his Ma^tie's goodness, w^th yo^r Lo^p's care of me, will dayly give increase to my powre and creditt, both with this Kinge and his ministers: I doe therfore most humbly intreat yo^r Lo^p to preserve unto me still the same respect and countenance, and I dowte not but that his Ma^tie will find that I shall imploy usefully the strength he hath given me to the advancement of his service. Whatsoever I have thowte worthy advertisment I have writt to my Lo. Digbie: I will therfore forbeare pressinge further upon yo^r Lo^p's patience, and rest

Y^r Lo^pp's most bound servant,

Madrid, the 7 of May, 1620, *stil. Ang.*

WA. ASTON."

About this period Sir John Digby, lately created a Baron, and soon after Earl of Bristol, was sent to join Aston at Madrid. The business of the treaty was entrusted in common to their wisdom, and the management of correspondence with James and his ministers committed separately to Aston. They were both earnest friends to the match, and for the first two years of their embassy received the highest approbation and praise from the King, the Prince, and the favourite; when, on Charles's wild expedition to the court of Spain, and Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares, and consequent resolution to revenge himself by preventing the projected marriage, they found all their measures suddenly broken by a new scheme of policy, if it deserved that name, at home, the reasons for which were studiously concealed from them. In this dilemma, Aston, on the first of November, 1623, addressed to the Duke a long letter, doubtless one of many to the same effect, which concludes with these honest, friendly, and spirited, remonstrances.

——" I have hytherto understood y^t his Ma^tie and his Highnes have really affected this match, and have labowred faythefully to second ther desyres w^th my uttermost indevours. Ther is none, I am sure, a better wittness then myself of the affection w^ch yo^r Grace hath born unto itt, w^ch I have seen remayne constant through many trialls; and therefore, untill I understand y^e contrary from y^r self, I must beleeve y^t yo^r desyres are the same w^ch I have seene them. I must ever speak my hart freely unto yo^r Grace; and I confess y^t upon y^e letter w^ch I receaved from his Highnes, and upon y^e sight of his Ma^tie's unto my Lo. of Bristol, I have been jealous that his Ma^tie's hart, and his Highnes', are not that to y^e match w^ch they have beene: but these are but dystrusts of my owne, and not foundation sufficient to slaken or coole those diligences w^ch I dayly performe, in conformitie to his Ma^tie's and his Highnes' comands, and to what remayns aparant of ther desires. I shall therfore humbly desire yo^r Lo^p to open my eys, and if I am out of the way to sett me straight, for I have noe affection of my owne but what agrees w^th my master's, and will ever submitt w^th all humillitie myself and my judgement unto his Ma^tie's wisedome, and faythfully labowr to serve him, according

to what I shall understand to be his will and pleasure; but untill I know, by yo^r Grace's favor, by what compas to guide my cource, I can only followe his Ma^tie's revealed will; and will once take the boldnes to represent unto yo^r Grace, in discharge of part of what I owe you, these consederations w^ch my desyre to serve you forceth from me.

I do looke upon yo^r Grace as a person infinitely provoked to be an enymy to this match, and I beleeve y^t you have had represented unto you many reasons, shewing how much itt concerns you to seeke to breake itt w^th all the force you have: but I can neyther beleeve y^t y^e errowre of one man can make you an enimy to that w^ch brings along w^th itt so much hapines and content unto his Ma^tie and his Highnes, nor y^t yo^r Grace's jugem^t can be ledd by thos arguments y^t under y^e couler of safety would bring you into a dangerous laberinth. Yo^r Grace hath given a noble testimonye how little you have valewed yo^r owne safety in respect of his Ma^tie's service, and therefore I assure myself you would conteme all consederations concerning yourselfe y^t might hinder yo^r advancement of his Ma^tie's ends. In the proceeding to this match ther is the same conveniencys to his Ma^tie y^t ever hath beene; ther is y^e same Lady; y^e same portion; y^e same frendship desired; they professing here an exact complying w^th what is capitulated, and a resolution to give his Ma^tie satisfaction in whatsoever is in their powre. From your Grace none can take away y^e honor of having beene y^e principall meanes by w^ch this great busines hath been brought to a conclusion; and, whatsoever others maye suggest against yo^r Grace, y^e Infanta, trewly informed, cannot but understand you y^e person to whom she owes most in this busines. Yo^r Grace and y^e Conde of Olivares have falne upon diferent wayes, that w^ch concerns y^e honor of y^e King o^r master being diferent to that w^ch he understood concerned most his master. Yo^r ends were both one for y^e efecting of y^e match, and w^th y^e conclusion of itt he cannot but better understand you. Would yo^r Grace would comitt itt to my charg to informe y^e Infanta what you have merited, and to acomodate all other mistakes here concerning yo^r proceeding. If yo^r Grace could reconcyle yo^r hart, I would not dowte but w^th y^e conclusion of y^e match to compose all things to yo^r good satisfaction, and bring them to a trewer understanding of you, and of ther obligations unto you. Into what a sea of confutions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Ma^tie I will leave to yo^r Grace's wisdome to consider of, it being too large a discource for a letter.

Considering myself, yo^r Grace knowes my wants, and I dowt not that yo^r care is what I could wish. I should be glad, when yow have done w^th Peter Wych, to see him dyspached away w^th some supplies to me, w^ch I shalbe in extreame want of by Christmass; my debtes, beside, in England beeing clamorous upon me for some satisfaction. I leave all to yo^r Grace's care and favor, ever resting

Yo^r Grace's humblest and most bounden servant,

WA. ASTON.

Post Scripta. The Condessa of Olivares bids me tell yow that she kisses yo^r Grace's hands, and doth every day recommend yow perticularly by name in her prayers to God."

It will be recollected that some writers have ascribed Buckingham's quarrel with Olivares to the detection of an intrigue with that minister's lady; and that others, particularly Lord Clarendon, have treated the report with contempt. The postscript to this letter may furnish matter of speculation to those who love to analyse such nice points of historical disquisition. But, to return to our subject, on the twenty-third of the same month Aston again pressed the Duke, by a letter in which we find the following passage—

"Itt hath beene here of late spread abroad y^t yo^r Grace hath doun many ill offices against y^e proceeding to y^e match, but I have cried itt as much downe as I could, assuring these ministers y^t itt is a malitious report, and have desired them to be confident y^t yo^r Grace, who hath so often made professions to y^e Princess, assuring her y^t yow will ever be, as yow have been, a faythefull servant unto y^e busines of y^e match, and will constantlye labowre to remove whatsoever dyfficulties may opose themselves, though others may suggest unto her Highnes y^e contrary, and y^t hath made so large professions as yow did unto y^e King here at yo^r parting, will never doe any thing so contrary to y^e King o^r master's service,

and yo^r owne honor, as to seeke to breake y^e amitie betwixt thes Crownes; and have therefore, intreated them not to give credit to rumors y^t ar raised rather out of malice then upon any just ground."

Buckingham became at length angry, rather perhaps at the justness than at the freedom of these repeated observations, but his friendship for Aston remained intire. At the same time, the King too, and the Prince, in that anxiety to break off the match with which they had been inspired by Buckingham, intimated to Sir Walter their displeasure at his having concurred with Bristol in fixing a day for the espousals, without previously binding the King of Spain to the restitution of the Palatinate, to which they well knew that Prince would never consent. On the fifth of December he wrote to the Duke to intercede for him, and on the same day addressed to the King the following letter, the confused style of which, so different from his usual method of expression, clearly indicates the perturbation of his mind at the moment.

"May itt please yo^r Ma^tie,

Upon y^e understanding from my Lo. Duke of Buckingham of yo^r Ma^tie's displeasure towards me, (w^ch is y^e greatest affliction y^t ever I receaved) for having conformed my self to the opinion of my Lo. of Bristol touching y^e Disposorios, w^th all humilitie acknowleging my error; and then not presuming to wright unto yo^r Ma^tie myselfe, I humbly intreated his Highnes and my Lo. Duke to become sutors unto yo^r Ma^tie for yo^r pardon, w^ch I doe y^e better hope I have obtained, not dowting but they have beene pleased to have been my mediators unto yo^r Ma^tie. And this beeing the first reprehension y^t ever I receaved, I doe alsoe not dowbt but it will extenuate my faulte when yo^r Ma^tie shall please to consider y^t what I then did was grownded upon y^e conceaving y^t by y^t meanes yo^r Ma^tie should have had yo^r desyres, both in y^e match, and in y^e busines of y^e Palatinate, howsoever in that tyme not precisely agreeing w^th yo^r Ma^tie's directions; and y^t by oposing my self unto y^e way w^ch his Lo^p intended to hold, I showld so much have distracted yo^r Ma^tie's affaires by a single action of my owne, w^ch I understood not how I could justifie, having receaved no warrant for itt. And I presume itt is yo^r Ma^tie's pleasure that I should be ever tender to doe anything y^t might give distasts in businesses of soe great importance, without a cleare and perfect direction. I will not trouble yo^r Ma^tie further, but, with my dayly prayers for yo^r Ma^tie's long life, health, and hapie raigne, doe rest,

Yo^r Ma^tie's most humble subject and servant,

W. Aston."

Buckingham answered him by a letter in which haughtiness and anger are so amiably chastened by kindness that it is matter of regret that its length should exceed the limits of this publication. "In your letter of the fifth of December," begins the Duke, "you desire me to give you my opinion. My ancient acquaintance, long custom of loving you, with constancy of friendship, invites me to do you this office of good will, and to serve you according to your request." He proceeds to remind Aston that the Prince, when at Madrid, had distinctly apprised him that the restitution of the Palatinate must be a condition for the match; had since written to him to the same effect; and was therefore astonished to find that he had consented to fix a day for the espousals without previous security for the performance; (all which, by the way, is contrary to the usual report of history); that it had been therefore in contemplation to recal both Bristol and himself; "but," says the Duke, "I have with much difficulty prevented this; so that it will be now in your power, by your carriage, to come off without reproof." He concludes—"If you think, at first sight, I press a little hard upon this point, you may be pleased to interpret it to be a faithful way of satisfying your request, and an expression of my affection to have you do all things suitable to your wisdom, virtue, and honor, and according to the wishes of your's,

G. Buckingham."

Aston, in his answer to this letter, on the twenty-second of the same month, says, "I have in all things with so much affection desired to serve yo^r Grace every way to yo^r

satisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me that I should have done anything whereby I might lessen yo^{r} favourable opinion towards me, but I hope yo^{r} Grace hath by this time set me straight both wth his Ma^{tie} and his Highnes, and restored me to the place in yo^{r} affection which I formerly had." And this indeed the Duke had fully accomplished; but these rebukes left a deep impression on Sir Walter's mind, for, in the last letter which I find from him, dated exactly one month after the preceding, are these melancholy expressions. " I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greatest businesses that have byn treated of many years, and the bitterest stormes threatning betwyxt these crownes that have byn these many ages. I have therefore no hope to save myself, without I be guided by his Highnes' and yo^{r} Grace's trusts and care of me." He remained, however, with the highest credit, at Madrid, the sole minister, (for his colleague had quitted his station in disgust, amidst the differences which have just now been related) till 1625, when he returned, on the accession of Charles the first, by whom, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1627, he was created Baron Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland. In 1635 he was again sent ambassador to the court of Spain, where he continued in that character till 1638: of this last mission, which indeed involved only ordinary matters between the two kingdoms, no particulars have occurred to me. Perhaps no man ever served his country with more fidelity to his King, or equal disadvantage to himself. " He was seised," says a memorandum preserved in the family, in the hand-writing of his grandson, Walter, third Lord Aston, " at the time of his going into Spaine, of divers manors and lordships, lying in the counties of Stafford, Warwick, Derby, and Leicestre, to the no lesse value than of 10,000*l.* p^{r}. an., the greatest part of which he lost and dispended in that service."

The gratitude of Drayton's muse has consecrated the memory of Lord Aston as a lover and encourager of English poesy, and as a most beneficent friend. He had scarcely overstepped childhood when he became a patron, for in 1598 the poet dedicates to him one of the " Heroical Epistles." In the preface to the Polyolbion, 1612, we find this passage—" Whatever is herein that tastes of a free spirit, I thankfully confess it to proceed from the continual bounty of my truly noble friend, Sir Walter Aston; which hath given me the best of those hours whose leisure hath effected this which I now publish." Drayton's works indeed abound with testimonies of esteem and affection for him, far too numerous to be here inserted; but I cannot suppress one sonnet, full of manliness of sentiment, and elegance of expression, addressed " to the worthy, and his most honored friend, Ma. Walter Aston."

" I will not strive m' invention to inforce
With needless words, your eyes to entertaine;
T' observe the formall ordinary course
That every one so vulgarly doth faine:
Our interchanged and deliberate choice
Is with more firme and true election sorted
Than stands in censure of the common voyce,
That with light humor fondly is transported.
Nor take I patterne of another's praise,
But what my pen can constantly avowe;
Nor walke more publique, nor obscurer, waies
Than virtue bids, and judgement will allowe.
So shall my love and best endeavours serve you,
And still shall studie still so to deserve you."

Lord Aston married Gertrude, only daughter and sole heir of Sir Thomas Sadleir, of Standon, in Herts, and grand-daughter of that eminent statesman, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and had by her five sons, and as many daughters. Of these, Walter, Thomas, and John, the first, fourth, and fifth sons, died in infancy; another Walter, second son, but at length heir, succeeded to the title and estates; and Herbert, the third, was seated at Colton, in Staffordshire. The daughters were Frances, married to Sir William Persall, of Canwell, near Lichfield; Gertrude, to Henry Thimelby, of Irnham, in Lincolnshire; Constantia, to Walter Fowler, of St. Thomas' Priory, near Stafford; Honora, and another, who died infants. Lord Aston departed in the latter end of July, or the beginning of August, 1639, for he was buried on the thirteenth of the last-named month, in St. Mary's church, in the town of Stafford.

Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Essex.

Drawn by H. Cousse, & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Scriven.

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ALGERNON PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

This nobleman was the third son, but at length heir and successor, to Henry, the ninth Earl of his family, (not less remarkable for talents, science, and loftiness of spirit, than for his, seemingly undeserved, and tedious imprisonment and persecution, on account of the gunpowder plot) by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot. He was born in, or about, the year 1602, and completed at Christ Church, in Oxford, under the tuition of Robert Hughes, an eminent scholar, but better known for his skill in geography and mathematics, an education, the rudiments of which he had probably received at home from the same master, whom the Earl, his father, had drawn from obscurity at an early age, and patronised through life. In 1616 he was one of the many youthful Knights of the Bath then appointed to grace the ceremony of investing Charles with the Principality of Wales; on the accession of that Prince to the throne, he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Percy; and in 1632, succeeded to the dignities and estates of his ancestors.

The King, moved not only by a personal esteem for him, but by a conscientious desire to compensate, as far as might be, for the injuries which the old Earl had received from the Crown, distinguished him by the highest graces. "I courted him," said Charles, on a remarkable occasion, in the hearing of Lord Clarendon, "as my mistress, and conversed with him as my friend, without the least interruption, or intermission of any possible favour and kindness." He was called to the Privy Council summoned on the commencement of the reign, and chosen one of the noblemen who accompanied the King to his coronation in Scotland. On the thirteenth of May, 1635, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and in the succeeding year was appointed to command the largest fleet that the Crown had put to sea since the death of Queen Elizabeth, and, having performed with much credit the services required of him, in the expedition against the Dutch fishery for which it was equipped, applied himself after his return, under the authority of some sort of commission which seems to have been not quite of a public nature, to the management of civil affairs relating to the navy, and the reformation of abuses in that department. These were preparatory studies, probably agreed on between the King and himself, to qualify him for the great office of Lord High Admiral of England, to which he was raised on the thirtieth of March, 1637; but the fatal turn of public matters soon after that period called him to a post little less dignified, and then more important, for in 1639 he was appointed Commander in chief of the army then raised to march against the Scottish covenanters. He was at that time held in the utmost estimation by his master, not only as a private friend, but as a minister. Lord Clarendon informs us, and I quote the entire passage chiefly because it so clearly points out the origin, at least in our country, of two political designations so frequently rung in English ears, that "the bulk and burthen of state affairs, whereby the envy attended them likewise, lay principally on the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Cottington; the Earl of Northumberland, for ornament; the Lord Bishop of London, by his place, being Lord High Treasurer of England; and the two Secretaries, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Francis Windebank, for service, and communication of intelligence. These were reproachfully called the Juncto, and, enviously, at court, the Cabinet Council."

We find here a note of disdain attached to his name, which, however delicately expressed,

cannot escape observation. The truth is that the Earl of Northumberland, to say no worse of him, possessed neither a heart nor a mind fit to encounter the great trials which were at hand. Even now, in their dawn, and immediately after he had received the highest mark of confidence, as well as the most distinguished appointment, which his Sovereign could bestow, we find in a letter from him to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, of the seventh of May, 1640, published in the Sidney papers, these lukewarm expressions— "Notwithstanding this dissolution" (of the Parliament, in the spring of that year) "the King intends vigorously to pursue his former designs, and to levy the same army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. About three weeks hence they are to be drawn together; but as yet I cannot learn by what means we are to get one shilling towards defraying this great expence. What will the world judge of us abroad, to see us enter into such an action as this, not knowing how to maintain it for one month? It grieves my soul to be involved in these counsels, and the sense I have of the miseries that are like to ensue is held by some a disaffection in me, but I regard not what these persons say," &c. Immediately after this period, the Earl was seized by a violent and lasting illness, which gave him an opportunity to resign into the King's hands the commission which he seems to have been so little disposed to execute.

But an incident which shortly followed seems to have discovered the true bent of his inclination. Henry Percy, his younger brother, and a firm royalist, being about to pass into France on the King's service, just at the time that an address had been proposed in the House of Commons to request his Majesty not to permit any of his servants to go out of the kingdom, had been attacked and wounded by the country people on the coast of Sussex, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and retired to a place of concealment, whence he dispatched to the Earl, his brother, a letter, which, as the event proved, must have imparted matter of great secrecy. This letter, through some monstrous perversion of morals or of intellect, the Earl laid before the Commons, who had previously voted an impeachment of high treason against Henry, for conspiring to raise troops to overawe the Parliament, and he, during the agitation of the matter, found means to quit the country.

Lord Clarendon, in strangely endeavouring to frame an excuse for the Earl's conduct on this remarkable occasion, increases our sense of his culpability. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "that after his brother's being accused of high treason, and then, upon his hurt in Sussex, coming directly to Northumberland House to shelter himself, the Earl, being in great trouble how to send him away beyond the seas after his wound was cured, advised with a confident friend, then in power, whose affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr. Pym into the council, who overwitted them both, by frankly consenting that Mr. Percy should escape into France, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him first to draw such a letter from him as might by the party be applied as an evidence of the reality of the plot, after he was escaped; and in this manner the letter was procured; which made a lasting quarrel between the two brothers, and made the Earl more at the disposal of those persons, whom he had trusted so far, than he had been before." This, observes the noble historian, was the first instance of his defection from the King's service, and it produced the worst effects; for, as he then had the most esteemed and unblemished reputation, both in the court and country, of any of his rank in the kingdom, so they who knew him well knew that the greatness of that reputation was but an effect of the singular grace and favour shewn to him by his Majesty; and therefore many who observed him purchase this opportunity of dis-serving the King at the price of his brother's honour, and of his own gratitude, concluded that he had some notable temptation of conscience, and that the court was much worse than it seemed to be.

From that period he gave himself wholly over to the popular party, and became, perhaps with better intentions than those of many who did less evil, one of its most formidable engines; for his concessions were more mischievous than their activity, and his high rank, immense estates, and universal good character, placed his motives above suspicion. In 1641, the lowest rabble of London had been incited to present a petition to the House of Commons, the main prayer of which was, in effect, that the names of those Peers who

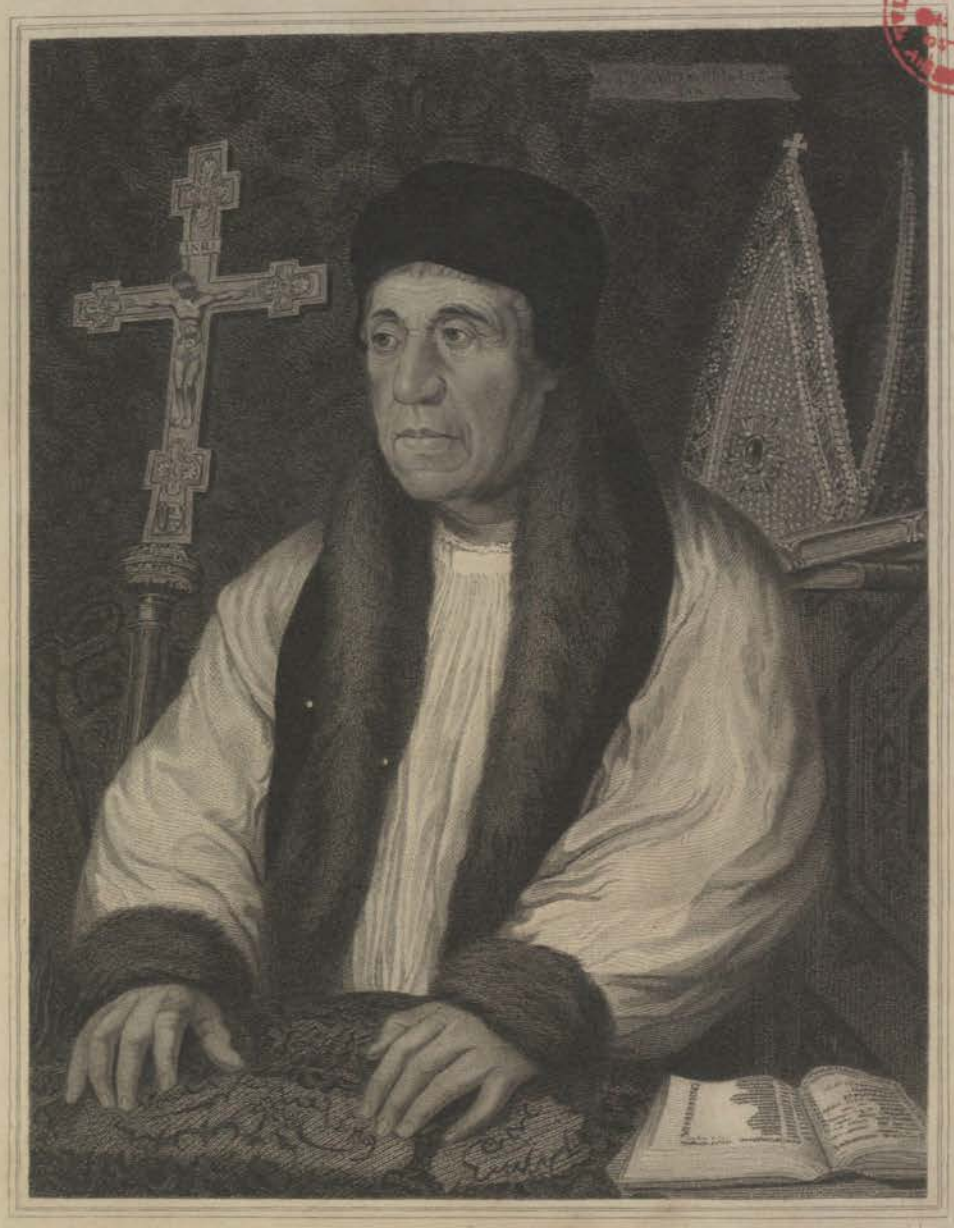
usually voted for the favourite measures might be accurately disclosed to them; and the main object, to intimidate the rest by apprehensions of their vengeance. That petition, marvellous to relate, was read, at a conference between the two Houses; immediately after which the Commons sent Mr. Holles with a message to the Peers, requiring their assistance to deprive the King of the militia; to which that gentleman added, in reference to the petition, that if the request of the House of Commons should be rejected, he desired that those Lords who were willing to concur would find some means to make themselves known, in order that those might be known who were unwilling; and in order, said Mr. Holles, "that we may make it known to those who sent us." In the debate, doubtless full of warmth, which followed, the Earl of Northumberland condescended to say that "whosoever refused in that particular to join with the House of Commons were, in his opinion, enemies to the commonwealth." When that House, very soon after, on its own sole authority, commanded him, in his capacity of Lord High Admiral, to equip the royal navy, he obeyed implicitly; and when it directed him to appoint the Earl of Warwick Admiral of the Fleet, for the service of the year 1642, he did so, in disobedience to the King's express pleasure. In the same weakness of mind, for let us hope that the whole of his conduct may be ascribed to that cause, when Charles, in the summer of that year, demanded his commission, with very little hope of success, he quietly resigned it, answering those of the Parliament who earnestly pressed him to retain it, that "it would ill become him, who had received that charge from the King, with such circumstances of trust and favour, to continue the possession of it against his Majesty's express pleasure, there being a clause in his grant that it should be only during such time as his Majesty should think fit to use his service." He retired accordingly, and the fleet, as might have been reasonably expected, presently after abandoned its allegiance.

The arrival of that miserable epoch which changed the resistance of the House of Commons into positive rebellion, produced no alteration in his conduct. A single instance only of his deviation from a regular passive obedience to the prevailing party can be discovered; he appears to have been privy to what was called Waller's plot, in 1643; but his name was so useful to the rebels that they forbore to institute any process against him. They continued to employ him, but without confidence, and he still accepted their commissions, though he had lost all affection to their cause; for he had by this time a clear prospect of those dangers against which the history of popular revolutions, not less vainly, by a strange fatality, than frequently, warns men of his degree. Little however was now left for him to perform, or rather to endure. He was placed at the head of the commissioners appointed to negotiate with Charles in the several treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport; and in April, 1645, the royal children were committed by the Commons to his custody, and he retained that charge till the murder of their father. Immediately after that sad event, which he had used his best arguments, the only means of which he had not stripped himself, to prevent, he retired to his seat at Petworth, in Sussex, where he remained in privacy till 1660, when, on the arrival of Monk from Scotland, he received that officer with open arms, and, at the head of what was called the moderate Presbyterian party, concerted with him the means of the restoration. He accepted no public appointment under Charles the second, except those of Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Sussex and Northumberland.

Lord Clarendon tells us that this nobleman "was in all his deportment a very great man, and that which looked like formality was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man, which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for; and in debates of importance he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above him as he thought himself above other considerable men he would have been a good subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impressions which they who approached him by those addresses of

reverence and esteem that usually insinuate themselves into such natures made in him: so that after he was first prevailed upon not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, which is a pestilent corruption, he was with the more facility led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it."

Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, died on the thirteenth of October, 1668, and was buried at Petworth. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and, secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk. By the former lady he had five daughters; Catherine, Lucy, and Dorothy, who died young; Anne, married to Philip, Lord Stanhope, after her death Earl of Chesterfield; and Elizabeth, to Arthur, Lord Capel, afterwards created Earl of Essex; by the latter, an only son, Josceline, who succeeded him, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died an infant.



William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Archbishop of Canterbury.

Drawn by W. Haines, & Engraved with Permission by C. Picart.

London, Published Feb.ry 1816 by Lackington, Allen & C.o and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

WILLIAM WARHAM,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This very respectable divine, who seems to have owed to a placid and humble temper, and to an innocent and candid prudence, the imperfect tranquillity with which for a long series of years he held the highest ecclesiastical station, in a time the most inauspicious to churchmen, especially of his persuasion, was the eldest son of Robert Warham, a small gentleman, or yeoman, of Hampshire, by Elizabeth, his wife, and was born at Okeley, in that county, about the year 1456. He received the education requisite to fit him for the clerical profession, which at that time included the study of the civil law, in Winchester School, and at Winchester College, in Oxford, and was in 1475 admitted fellow of New College, where he soon after took the degree of Doctor of Laws. He quitted the university, in which he had held some reputable appointments, in 1488, with a high fame for his learning, and embraced the profession of an advocate in the Arches Court, in which he practised with much distinction and success. He became therefore, soon after his arrival, well known at the Court, for Henry the seventh delighted in civilians, and thought them of all others the best qualified for the management of niceties in affairs of state, particularly in those of foreign negotiation. Warham was accordingly sent, in 1493, with Sir Edward Poynings, on an embassy to Philip Duke of Burgundy, to persuade that Prince to withdraw his protection from the impostor, Perkin Warbeck, and discharged his mission so well, that Henry, on his return, appointed him Master of the Rolls. He sat in that office for nine years; a delay of preferment which was amply compensated for by the rapidity with which he afterwards rose to the most exalted stations in church and state; for on the eleventh of August, 1502, the Great Seal was delivered to him, as Lord Keeper; within a few weeks after he was placed in the See of London; on the first of the following January was appointed Lord Chancellor; and, in the ensuing March, translated to the Primacy. The favour of his master was marked by the unusual circumstances of pomp and ceremony attending his installation at Canterbury, in which Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the mightiest peer of the realm, condescended to officiate in the character of his Steward of the Household. To these high offices was added the dignity of Chancellor of that University which had lent its aid to qualify him for them, to which he was elected on the twenty-eighth of May, 1506.

His royal patron dying not long after that period, a new master succeeded, and presently Wolsey, a new planet, or rather comet, in the sphere of English politics, appeared, and soon eclipsed all competitors for favour. The mild and sober character of Warham by no means fitted him for contention with one whose vivacity and ardour in the execution of his schemes were equal to the ambition and subtlety with which they had been projected. Wolsey began by infringing on the dignified distinctions of the Primacy, one of which was, that the cross of no other prelate should be elevated in the same place with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury: Wolsey, however, would have his cross of the See of York borne before him even in the presence of Warham; and it has been said, though improbably enough, that he procured for himself from the Pope his famous commission of Legate à latere for the sake of gaining precedency in that peculiar point, to which end his station of Cardinal was insufficient. He then invaded the Primate's prerogative by erecting a court at Whitehall, for the proving of wills under his separate authority; and at length invested himself, in a great measure, through the efficacy of his Legantine power, with the

government of the Anglican Church, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. Warham remonstrated to him in vain, and at last appealed to the King, by some exertion of whose authority Wolsey's violence was somewhat curbed, and his anger against Warham proportionately provoked. Two original expostulatory letters from the Primate to the Cardinal may be found in the Cotton collection, the one complaining, at great length, of Wolsey's interference with the Archbishop's jurisdiction in a particular case, of no public importance; the other, a brief and more general representation of various injuries. This latter seems to merit insertion here, not only as a specimen of Warham's epistolary style, which was of the best of his time, but because the profoundly respectful method of expression affords so remarkable a proof of the awe in which Wolsey was held, even by an outraged Metropolitan of England.

" Please it youre good Grace to understande, I am informed that your Grace intendithe to interrupte me in the use of the prorogatives in the whiche my predecessors and I, in the right of my church of Canterbury, hathe been possessed by priviledge, custume, and prescription, tyme out of mynde; and, for the interruption of the same, your Grace is mynded, as I am informed, to depute Doctour Alan; whiche if your Grace shulde do so (considering that not only all myne officers of my Courts th' Arches & th' Audience, but also the Commissarie of my diocesse of Kente, and I myself, not only in matiers of suite of instance of parteys, but also in causes of correction dependinge before me and them, be continually inhibited by your officers) I shulde have nothinge lefte for me and my officers to do, but shulde be as a shadoo and ymage of an Archbishop and Legate, void of auctoritie and jurisdiction, whiche shulde be to my perpetual reproche, and to my churche a perpetual prejudice. Wherefore, inasmuche as I truste verely in your great goodnes that youre Grace wool not be so extreme against me, and the right of my church beforenamed, I beseech your Grace, the premisses considered, to differ and respecte this matter tyll I may have communycation in this behaulfe with your Grace, when it shall please youe, at youre leysure; and, youre pleasure knowne, I will be redy to give attendance on your Grace; beseching you also to give credence to my chapellaine, Maister Wellys, this berar, in suche matiers as he will shewe youre Grace on my behaulfe. At my manor at Croydon, the xvii day of Marche.

At youre Gracis commandment,

WILLM CANTUAR."

Wolsey, having perhaps abated somewhat of his persecution of Warham in ecclesiastical matters, attacked him next in his office of Chancellor. He had been long jealous of the interference of the Chancery with the authority of his Legantine Court, and his ambition readily suggested to him the most effectual remedy for the inconvenience. He became eager to possess the first lay office under the Crown, and the Archbishop, fatigued with contention, and advancing to old age, was easily prevailed on to gratify him, in the hope to purchase by this concession the quiet enjoyment for the remainder of his life of those rights, at least, of the Primacy which had no concern with matters of state. He resigned the Great Seal on the twenty-third of December, 1515, and the King immediately delivered it to the Cardinal. Warham now retired from all public business, except that of his church, and passed yet many years in his diocese, in a faithful discharge of all the duties of his high calling; in the enjoyment of private friendships, and in the cultivation and patronage of literature. He lived in the strictest intimacy with Erasmus, to whom he gave the rectory of Aldington, in Kent. They corresponded with the freedom of equals, and exchanged portraits with the affection of brothers. " Erasmus, in one of his epistles," says Wood, " so commends him for humanity, learning, integrity, and piety, that in the conclusion he saith, ' nullam absoluti præsulis dotem in eo desideres.' " His liberality was unbounded, and his contempt of wealth almost blameable. He expended the immense sum of thirty thousand pounds in repairing and adorning the different episcopal houses of his See, and left scarcely sufficient to pay his debts. When he lay on his death-bed, having occasion to

enquire of his steward what money he had in his hands, and being answered only thirty pounds, he calmly replied, " satis viatici ad cœlum."

The main fault in his conduct, for which much might be pleaded in extenuation, considering the characters of the two masters whom he served, was a servile obsequiousness to their will on all occasions. When the question of the supremacy of Henry the eighth was propounded to the Convocation, and Cromwell had concluded his long argument for it, every mouth in that assembly was sealed by fear; when the Primate, after a short pause, declared that " silence was to be taken for consent," and reported the judgement of the Convocation accordingly. Bishop Burnet tells us that " his speeches in Parliament were sermons, begun with texts of Scripture, which he expounded, and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible." That historian however, in another part of his chief work, says of him, with much apparent fairness, that he was " a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourer of learned men: that he always hated Cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his see: that he was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet that he was a severe persecutor of those whom he thought heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as appeared in the matter of the Maid of Kent." The truth is that, as the character of Archbishop Warham wanted those bold features which history so readily records, it has been hitherto but slightly touched on. As a churchman, he seems to have been pious and sincere; zealous for the persuasion in which he had been bred, and occasionally proving that zeal in instances of intolerant severity: as a statesman, rather esteemed for honesty and experience than for acuteness: as a judge, laborious in his attention to the business of his Court, and pure in his administration of justice: as a man, mild, cheerful, affable, and benevolent. If we may not reckon him with the greatest, he may certainly be esteemed among the best, public men of the age in which he flourished. He died on the twenty-third of August, 1532, in the house of his nephew, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, at Hackington, near that city; and was buried with the most simple privacy in a small chapel, which he had built in his cathedral for that purpose.

A tradition exists, too ancient, and too respectable, to admit of reasonable doubt, that the fine picture from which the present engraving was made was presented by Holbein to the Archbishop, inclosed in the identical frame in which it yet remains.

James Stuart, Duke of Richmond.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

John Shelley Sidney Esqr.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by W. T. Fry

London, Published Febr.y 28th by Lackington, Allen & Co.y and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JAMES STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

THE Duke of Richmond was perhaps the only person of that great and honourable class distinguished by the general appellation Royalists who followed the fortunes of Charles the first from mere personal affection, and who was held by that Prince in the most unlimited tenderness of friendship. They were of the same family, the same country, and the same character. Both were distinguished by plain good sense; by a cool unvarying integrity; an exact sense of honour; a reserve which was the result more of temper than of prudence; and by a perfect freedom from vice. "The higher he was," says Lloyd, "the less he desired to seem, affecting rather the worth than the pomp of nobleness; therefore his courtesy was his nature, not his craft; and his affableness not a base and servile popularity, or an ambitious insinuation, but the native gentleness of his character, and his true value of himself." With these dispositions, the Duke was rather a benefit than an ornament to the court; rather a pillar for the security of the state than an engine to forward its operations.

He was the eldest son of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox (who was first cousin, once removed, to King James the first) by Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Sir Henry Darcy, of Brimham, in the county of York, and was born on the sixth of April, 1612. His father died in the prime of life, leaving him an infant of the age of twelve years, with six brothers and four sisters; and James, who also died soon after, took them under his special protection, with a degree of distinction which however their kindred to him seemed but justly to challenge. From a family thus in a manner bequeathed by the King to the kindness of his successor, Charles selected, without neglecting the rest, the young Duke as his favourite child, and a mutual interchange of sympathies, which were all but in fact parental and filial, unfolded gradually into a strict and noble friendship between them. The King took on himself to superintend the completion of his education, and sent him to travel through France, Italy, and Spain, where the distinction of a Grandee of the first class was conferred on him; and, on his return, when scarcely twenty-one years of age, he was called to the Privy Council, and married, by Charles's recommendation, to the only child of the deceased favourite, Buckingham, with whom he received a portion, in those days esteemed very great, of twenty thousand pounds. The offices of Lord Steward of the Royal Household, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, were soon after bestowed on him, together with the Order of the Garter.

Such was his state when the furious commencement of the Long Parliament drew him into the vortex of politics. He became presently an object of jealousy and disgust with the leaders of the popular party in that ominous assembly. In Scotland, where the seeds of discontent had been first sown, he possessed a powerful influence, which he had already opposed, with skill as well as with resolution, to the plans of those of his own rank there who strove to promote division, and had so rendered essential service to the royal cause; but he now declared himself openly in the House of Peers, where he sat as a Baron, an utter enemy to all those concessions which it had been proposed in Parliament to make to his insurgent countrymen, on whose success the fairest hopes of mischief had been founded by the disaffected here. Thus, while he incurred in England the resentment of one faction, he was in Scotland held in universal distrust by another. "He was a man of honour and fidelity," says Lord Clarendon, "in all places, and in no degree of confidence with his

countrymen, because he would not admit himself into their intrigues." He was soon assailed in the House of Commons; and Clarendon, who was then a member of that body, describes thus, in his History of the Rebellion, the motive and method of the attack, which was made just after the death of the Earl of Strafford, and the expedient which he himself used to render it for the time fruitless.

"Their design," says he, "was to remove the Duke of Richmond from the King; both because they had a mind to have his office of Warden of the Cinque Ports from him, that it might be conferred on the Earl of Warwick, and as he was almost the only man of great quality and consideration about the King who did not in the least degree stoop or make court to them, but crossed them boldly in the House, and all other ways pursued his master's service, with his utmost vigour and intentness of mind. They could not charge him with any thing like a crime, and therefore only intended to brand him, and make him odious, by which they presumed they should at last make him willing to ransom himself by quitting that office, for which there was some underhand treaty by persons who were solicitous to prevent further inconveniences, and, as they found any thing like to succeed in that, they slackened or advanced their discourse of evil counsellors. One day they were very warm upon the argument, and had a purpose to have named him directly, which they had hitherto forborn to do, when Mr. Hyde stood up, and said, 'he did really believe that there yet remained some evil counsellors, who did much harm about the King; and that it would be much better to name them than to amuse the House so often with the general mention of them, as if we were afraid to name them. He proposed that there might be a day appointed, on which, upon due reflections upon those who had been most notorious in doing mischief to the public, we might most probably find who they were who trod still in the same paths, and name them accordingly; and that, for his part, if a day were appointed for that discovery, he would be ready to name one who, by all the marks we could judge by, and by his former course of life, might very easily be believed to be an evil counsellor.' They were exceedingly apprehensive that he meant the Marquis of Hamilton, who was very dear to them; and thenceforward, though they desisted not from prosecuting the Duke till at last they had compelled him to quit the Cinque Ports to the Earl of Warwick, they no more urged the discovery of evil counsellors; and all the familiar friends of Mr. Hyde were importuned to move him not to endeavour to do any prejudice to the Marquis of Hamilton."

The same historian furnishes us with another anecdote, which, while it relates to the Duke, will serve to shew how little the privileges of Parliament were then understood, or at least valued, by the members of both Houses, or how ready the popular party was to sacrifice madly those privileges to their hatred of the King and his friends. Upon the proposal of some matter in the House of Lords which was not agreeable to that party, many of them, in a tumultuous manner which was not then usual in either House of Parliament, cried "adjourn, adjourn;" on which the Duke of Richmond, without addressing himself to the chair, was overheard to say to some around him, that, if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months. These words, so uttered, were interpreted to be a regular motion, which, had they been so, would have been but strictly parliamentary; and it was immediately determined that the House should not rise, and that "the Duke should explain himself, and answer the making such a motion as, being granted, would be destructive to the commonwealth." The Duke said that "he had made no motion, but used that expression to shew his dislike of the other motion, to adjourn; and that when he spoke, all men being on their feet, and out of their places, he conceived that the House had been up." He was, however, required to withdraw, and, at the conclusion of a fierce debate of many hours, it was resolved, by a small majority, that he had committed no offence, against which vote several Peers entered their protest. But the matter ended not there. On the following day it was taken up in the House of Commons with the greatest fury, and, after one of the longest discussions ever known there, it was determined that they should accuse the Duke of Richmond to the Lords as "one of the malignant party, and an evil counsellor to his Majesty, and should desire them to join in a request to the King

that he might be removed from any office or employment about his Majesty's person." The Peers tamely and patiently received the proposition, which was delivered with much solemnity, and testified no further resentment at so monstrous a breach of their privileges than by silently forbearing to take the matter into their further consideration.

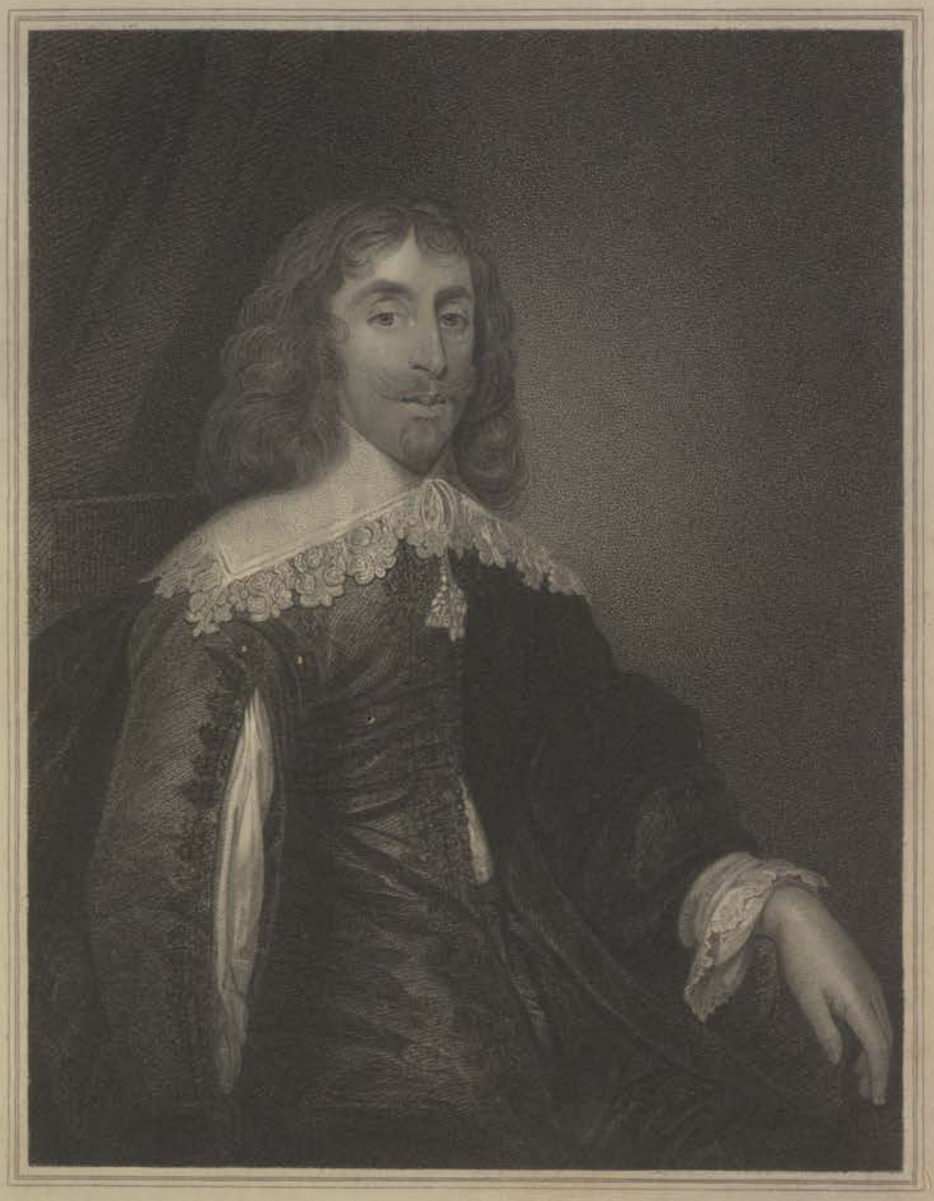
On the eighth of August, 1641, the King conferred on him the title of Duke of Richmond, which had been by James the first revived in his uncle, Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, and had become extinct by that nobleman's death without issue: and the next day he set out towards Scotland with Charles, who had probably chosen that precise time to raise him to the highest rank of the English Peerage as a compliment to his country, which might, considering the character of that people, be agreeably received there, even by the party which he opposed. A few weeks after his return the war commenced, in the very outset of which he was one of the eleven eminent persons whom the Parliament proscribed by name in their instructions to the Earl of Essex, their general. He placed three of his brothers, two of whom had then scarcely attained to manhood, in the royal army, and they were all engaged in the battle of Edgehill, the first action that occurred, in which the eldest, who was called Lord Aubigny, was killed, as were afterwards the Lord John Stuart, at the battle of Alresford, and the Lord Bernard, (who, for his admirable gallantry, had been created Earl of Lichfield,) at Chester. The Duke himself remained constantly about the King's person, which was, in fact, his proper station in those miserable times; not so much for the office which he held in the royal household, as for that perfect affection and fidelity which rendered his presence at once a consolation and a security to his afflicted master.

In 1644 he was placed at the head of the council then appointed by the King for the government of the Prince of Wales, and was in the following year named first commissioner for the treaty of Uxbridge, in the course of which he gave ample proofs that he was by no means deficient in the best qualities of a statesman, as indeed he had before in the negotiations at Oxford, and with the Scottish commissioners in London. He persevered in his attendance on Charles, till his Majesty, without communicating the design even to him, fled from Oxford on the twenty-seventh of April, 1646, to throw himself into the arms of the Scots; and from thenceforth the Duke saw him no more till he was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, when, at the King's special desire, he was permitted by the rebels to resume, for a short time, the performance of his personal duties. The next request, on the behalf of what remained of royalty in the land, which they granted more reluctantly, was made by himself—to be allowed to lay in the grave the mangled remains of his beloved sovereign, to save whose life he had solemnly offered the vicarious sacrifice of his own. That sad office performed, he retired into utter privacy, and died, as has been said with great probability, of the gradual effects of grief, on the thirtieth of March, 1655, leaving an only son, Esme, who succeeded to his titles, and died in France, aged about ten years, in 1660; and an only daughter, Mary, married to Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, second son of James, Duke of Ormond.

Lord Clarendon tells us that "he was a man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding, yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a resignation of himself to the King that he abhorred all artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those who, how powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no quarter upon so infamous terms as but looking on while his master was ill used. As he had received great bounties from the King, so he sacrificed all he had to his service as soon as his occasions stood in need of it, and lent his Majesty at one time twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service, in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived with unspotted fidelity some years after the murther of his master; and was suffered to put him into his grave, and died without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the Crown."

Dr. Birch, in giving some account of the life of this nobleman, has fallen, which was not

usual with him, into many gross errors. He states that the Duke succeeded to the dukedom of Richmond on the death of his father, who never had that title; and accommodates that mistake to another, by fixing the date of his father's death, which happened in 1623, to 1640. He speaks too of the offices of Lord Chamberlain, and High Admiral, of Scotland, as having been conferred on the subject of this memoir by King Charles the first, when they were in fact hereditary, or, to use the Scottish term, heretable, in his family: they devolved on him necessarily, therefore, with his title of Duke of Lenox. There is a tradition that the Duke, when on his travels, was preserved from assassination by a favourite dog which lay in his chamber, and aroused him from his sleep; and it is added, that his master from that time distinguished him by a collar set with pearls. It is scarcely enough to say that the picture which is here engraved seems strongly to allude to the circumstance in question; for the age at which the Duke is represented, the singularity of his dress, or rather undress, the dog, and the pearled collar, combine to tell, hieroglyphically, nearly the whole of the story. Nothing is wanting but the assassin, who may be supposed to have fled.



Arthur, Lord Capel.

From the original of Cornelius Janson, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Essex.

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ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

Lord Clarendon has drawn the public character of this admirable person with a knowledge so intimate, and an affection so sincere, and with such strength and exquisite sweetness of expression, that he who might be arrogant enough to add a single touch to so masterly a picture, could not but infringe on its truth, and weaken its effect. I shall therefore relate little more than the mere circumstances of his life, and the simple detail will be found to furnish one of the brightest ornaments on the page of English history.

He was the only son of Sir Henry Capel, by his first wife, Theodosia, sister to Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester. His father died, having scarcely reached the prime of life, and he was bred under the care of his grandfather, Sir Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, whom at length he succeeded in the inheritance of a vast fortune, which had been gained in trade, in the reign of Henry the seventh, by his ancestor Sir William Capel, a junior descendant from a respectable gentleman's family in Suffolk. He was at that time completing, at Clare Hall, in Cambridge, an education in which he afterwards proved that no pains had been spared, either by his friends or himself. His first entrance into life displayed, with a mild but incessant brightness, those qualities which, even in the best men, seldom appear during the fever of youth but in irregular and uncertain flashes. He sat down at his superb seat in Hertfordshire in the spirit of a prince and of a philosopher. His hospitality, and his charity to the poor, though scarcely equalled by those of any other English subject, were supported as much by his prudence as by his wealth and his inclination. He was distinguished by a quiet and unostentatious piety, and the excellent moral dispositions which belonged to his nature were polished to the last degree by that dignified generosity of conduct in which we find the true meaning of the word honour. It is scarcely necessary then to say that he was exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. His mind was powerful, and the clearness and acuteness of his judgment were equalled by the activity of his observation. He had read much, and thought more, and wrote with an elegant and forcible conciseness which bespoke at once the gentleman and the scholar. Such was Arthur Capel, when about twenty-five years old, and on the eve of the unhappy war between the King and the Parliament.

Thus qualified and recommended, he was chosen, without opposition, to represent the county of Hertford in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. He immediately joined the popular party, which then comprised many real patriots, and, on the third day after he had taken his seat, delivered to the House a petition from the freeholders of his county, remonstrating against the abuses of the star chamber and high commission courts, ship-money, and other imposts of doubtful legality, which happened to be the first of the great number about that time presented on the same subjects. That Parliament was dissolved on the fifth of the succeeding month, and he was re-elected by his neighbours, with the same unanimity, to the next, which assembled on the third of November following, in which he heartily supported the measures which were at first proposed for the fair and wholesome circumscription of the power of the crown. In this spirit, like many other honest men at that time, he went one step too far, and unwarily suffered a spirit of vengeance against past errors to grow out of his dissatisfaction with the present. He voted for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and the keen sense which in cooler moments arose in his mind of the injustice of that measure, and of the execution that followed, which he fully acknowledged in the hour of his death, joined to a clear judgment that enough had been before done, or fully prepared, to secure to the nation the enjoyment of the utmost

degree of liberty consistent with its peace and welfare, he quitted a party which he beheld already intoxicated with a first taste of blood, and intent only upon new sacrifices and new systems.

The accession to the royal cause of a commoner in every way of so high consideration was peculiarly gratifying to the King, who immediately acknowledged his obligation. On the sixth of August, 1641, Capel was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Capel, of Hadham, in Herts. He strove for some months in the House of Peers, with equal spirit and moderation, to stem the torrent; and, finding all his efforts ineffectual, took leave for ever of that assembly, with the solemn assertion that " the King's Majesty had granted so much for the ease and security of the kingdom, that they who asked more intended the disturbance of it." He now joined Charles at York, where, on the fifteenth June, 1642, he signed, with the other nobles and statesmen there, a declaration testifying their firm conviction that the King had no intention to make war on his Parliament, and engaged himself to raise one hundred horse for his Majesty's service and security. Early in the following year, the King sent him to Shrewsbury, with the commission of Lieutenant General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, where he collected a formidable body of horse and foot, and afforded considerable relief to the brave garrison of Chester, by keeping the Parliament forces, under Sir William Brereton, employed at Namptwich. Charles was about that time devising, with much anxiety, some method of disposing of the Prince of Wales, so as to provide at once for the security of his person, and to allay the jealousies which had been entertained of a design to send him privately to the Queen, in France. To forward these views, he nominated a council for the direction of all matters relating to the Prince, consisting of six of his most trusty servants, of whom Lord Capel was one, and the one most trusted, and this appointment drew him from his military services. Upon receiving it he raised at his own expense a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the Prince's standing guard, and had the King's commission to command them; and the various duties of his new charge left him little room for the performance of any other during the four succeeding years. He was, however, one of the commissioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge.

In the summer of 1645, the Prince being then in the west of England, Capel, who, with Lord Colepeper, attended him there, had a considerable share in the direction of the campaign in those parts, where Waller and Cromwell commanded for the rebels; but the King's affairs in that quarter having taken an unfavourable turn, owing rather to differences among his commanders than either to any signal defeat, or to disaffection in the country, the Prince was obliged to retire gradually towards the coast of Cornwall, and at length to put to sea. He landed on the isle of Scilly, and, having remained there for six weeks, at the end of which he was joined by Capel, they sailed together to Jersey. The fatal battle of Naseby occurred just at this period, and the miserable King left Oxford privately, and fled towards Scotland. The Queen, who had been long anxious that her son should reside with her in France, now urged it with the most vehement importunity, but was resisted by Capel, whose gallant spirit could not endure the flight of the heir apparent while a ray of hope remained. At length the Prince himself determined to depart, and Capel remained in Jersey, waiting for orders from the King, of whose situation he was in a great measure ignorant, and who was now in fact a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, and prevented by them from communicating with his servants.

In 1647, while he resided in Jersey, the House of Commons passed a vote for the sale of his estates, to raise money for the service in Ireland, and he went to Paris to ask the Prince's permission to return home on that occasion. He came by the way of Zealand, and having compounded for his lands with the rebel government, retired to his mansion at Hadham, to meditate at leisure on the few chances which might yet exist of rendering service to the royal cause. The King, who had been lately sold by the Scots to his subjects, and who since that monstrous event had been capriciously hurried from place to place, was soon after brought to Hampton-court, where Cromwell, with some design of policy which has never been understood, permitted to him, for some time, the free access of his friends. Capel

was among the first to seize the opportunity; he waited on his Majesty there for the last time, and made that final engagement which he soon after sealed with his blood. "To the Lord Capel," says Clarendon, speaking of his conversation on that day with the King, "his Majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England, and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other; and, therefore, desired Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually."

Capel entered into these designs with the greatest warmth, and commenced immediately a correspondence with the leaders of the King's party, if it deserved to be so called, in Scotland. He passed the latter part of the winter of 1647, and the following spring, in arranging with them the detail of their proposed invasion of England, and in preparing for a levy of forces in his own county of Hertford. He wrote to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, whom he had left in Jersey, to apprise him that all was ready for the projected enterprise, and to request him to recall the Prince to that island, in order that his Royal Highness might be in readiness there to pass over into England, on receiving the news of those successes which he had fondly anticipated. In the latter end of May, 1648, he appeared in arms, and marched into Essex, where he was joined by Goring, Earl of Norwich, who had retreated thither from the superior force of Fairfax, in Kent. They shut themselves up, with many other brave officers, and about four thousand men, in the town of Colchester, under cover of such fortifications as the time allowed them to prepare, and awaited the approach of the Scottish army, or of Fairfax. They were presently attacked, and closely besieged by that general, and defended themselves with the utmost bravery and judgment. In the mean time, the Scots, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, entered England, and were totally defeated in Lancashire; an ill-concerted, and worse executed, rising in Surrey, under the Earl of Holland, was presently subdued; and the brave but worn out garrison of Colchester, finding that the King's affairs were thus on a sudden rendered hopeless, after having sustained a close siege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of August, submitted on that day at discretion, in opposition to the commands and intreaties of Lord Capel. The enormities and the treachery which followed the surrender of Colchester have left a deep stain on the memory of Fairfax, which our historians have generally endeavoured to transfer to that of the bloody Ireton, by whom he had then the misfortune to be accompanied. Two of the bravest gentlemen who had served in the garrison, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were brought before Fairfax, then presiding at a council of war, immediately after he had taken possession of the town, and having been told that, after so obstinate a resistance, it was necessary, for the example of others, that a summary punishment should be executed, were led into an adjoining yard, and there shot to death. This done, Fairfax and his officers went to the town-hall, where the rest of the prisoners were confined, and addressing himself to the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, told them, says Lord Clarendon, "that, having done that which the military justice required, all the lives of the rest were safe, and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct:" "But," continues Clarendon, "the Lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding as to receive the visit of those who caused it with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton as cost him his life in few months after."

Capel was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where he remained till November. In the mean time, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Commons, to which he pleaded that Fairfax had not only promised that his life should be spared, but had also expressly acknowledged that promise in a letter to the House; upon which Fairfax, being called on by the Commons to explain his meaning in that letter, was base and

cowardly enough to reply, that " his promise did not extend to any other but the military power; and that the prisoners were, notwithstanding, liable to trial and judgment by the civil power." He was now removed to the Tower of London, and, on the tenth of November, the house determined that he should be banished; but, on the first of February, voted that he should be " proceeded against for justice." On the evening of that day he escaped from the Tower, having let himself down from the wall by a rope, and waded, with the greatest difficulty, though aided by an uncommon stature, across the ditch. His friends who waited for him on the opposite bank, secreted him for a few days in the Temple, and then, for his better security, removed him to a house in Lambeth-marsh; but, in crossing the Thames thither, late in the evening, the boat-man, who had by some means discovered him, gave notice to an officer in the neighbourhood, and he was seized soon after he had landed, and again conveyed to his prison. On the tenth of February, he was brought, with the Earl of Norwich and others, before what was called the high court of justice, to be tried for high treason, where he behaved with the most undaunted firmness, asserting that, " in the condition of a soldier, and a prisoner of war, the lawyers and gown-men had nothing to do with him, and, therefore, he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him." He urged, however, Fairfax's engagement, and concluded by insisting that, " if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he ought to be tried by his peers, which was his right by the law of the land;" to which the arch regicide Bradshaw, who sat as president, amidst many other expressions of vulgar brutality, answered, that " he was tried before such judges as the Parliament had thought fit to appoint, and who had judged a better man than himself." The court, at length, finally decided, that Fairfax's declaration " that the Lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life," should be interpreted to mean " a freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court;" and three days after, he was again brought up, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

It was necessary that the sentence should be confirmed by a vote of Parliament, and he had so many friends in the House that his acquittal there was confidently expected; especially when Cromwell, who had been of his acquaintance, commenced a long speech on the question, " whether the prayer of a petition for his life, presented by his Lady, should be granted?" with praises of his character, and large acknowledgments of kindness and respect for him. But the hypocrite at length concluded, " that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them that the question was now whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest: that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides: and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." These expressions produced the effect which the speaker intended; the question was negatived by a majority of three or four voices; and on the ninth of March 1648, the ignominious mode of execution at first prescribed having been previously altered, he was beheaded before the great gate of Westminster Hall, having made a speech of considerable length to those around him, in which it is difficult to say whether his piety, his heroism, or his loyalty, was the most to be admired.

Lord Clarendon, to whose character of this true nobleman I have above referred, says of him, " He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described, and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty, and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue, of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy in that he

thought himself most blessed in them. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him, and, having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune, from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth; but it made no other impression on him than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and with the same chearfulness to obey the first summons when he was called out, which was quickly after. In a word he was a man that, whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel."

This nobleman, as has been here already hinted, had somewhat applied himself in the less busy time of his life to literary composition. His remains were printed in 1654, with the title of "Daily Observations, or Meditations Divine and Moral, written by a Person of Honour;" and republished some years after, with some account of his life. A few extracts from the aphorisms, which chiefly form that little volume, will serve to shew that the qualities of his head and of his heart were well matched with his greatness of soul.—"Biting jests, the more truth they carry with them, the broader scarred memory they leave behind them: many times they are like the wounds of chewed bullets, where the ruggedness causeth almost incurable hurts."—"In this tempestuous world no line holds the anchor of contentment so fast as a good conscience: man's favour is but a fine thread, that will scarcely hold one tug of a crafty tale-bearer: honour slips the noose when vulgar breath, wearied with constant virtue, is more affected to novelty: riches are gnawn asunder by the greedy teeth of devouring leviathans: but this cable is so strong and compact, that when force is offered to it the straining rather strengthens by uniting the parts more close."—"In heat of argument men are commonly like those that are tied back to back, close joined, and yet they cannot see one another."—"Those that behave themselves with an uneven and captious conversation towards others are but tell-tales of their own unpeaceable and miserable unsettled minds within themselves."—"The idle man is more perplexed what to do than the laborious in doing what he ought." I close these quotations with some regret.

Lord Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryson, of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, and had by her four sons; Arthur, his successor, who was created Earl of Essex; Henry, to whom an English Barony was granted by the title of Lord Capel of Tewksbury, and who died without issue; Edward and Charles, who died unmarried: and four daughters; Mary married first to Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, heir apparent to William Earl of Hertford, and secondly to Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort; Elizabeth to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon; Theodosia to Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, son and heir to the Earl of Clarendon; and Anne to John Strangways, of Melbury Sandford, in Dorsetshire.

George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

From the original of Sir Peter Lely in

The Town Hall, Exeter.

Drawn by H. Crease & Engraved with Permission by W. T. Fry.

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GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

As we are told that we may cover a multitude of our own sins by our charity, so, in another sense, may it be said that we frequently cover those of others by our gratitude. It is difficult even to discern the faults of one from whom we have received great favour; painful to dwell on the contemplation of them; and scarcely possible to proclaim them. If these amiable feelings flourish in the common familiar intercourse of mankind, in spite of the innumerable disgusts with which the selfish passions torment small and closely connected societies, how much more forcibly must they operate in those rare cases where the benefactor and the objects of his bounty are, in all other respects, wholly independent of each other. In which obligations are the more keenly felt because we can never be reproached with them; and debts readily owned, because they can never be claimed: in which we receive favour without having taken the trouble to deserve it; and run eagerly to acknowledge it, chiefly because no acknowledgment is expected. Such a benefactor was Monk, and he invested the character with the dazzling glory of a nation's saviour; but it was from those dispositions in mankind to which I have endeavoured to allude, that he purchased for his memory not only the praise, but the forbearance of history.

He descended from a Devonshire family of good antiquity, and royal blood ran in his veins, for his great grandfather, Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, in that county, married, for his first wife, Frances, daughter and co-heir of Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, and he sprung from that match. His father, Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, the heir to a decayed estate, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Smith, of Madworth, also in the same county. He was born on the sixth of December, 1608, and was their second son; was only two years old when his father died, and received such education as he had under the protection of his maternal grandfather. It was probably not more than sufficient to qualify him for the life of a gentleman soldier, in which he was placed in his seventeenth year, when he joined the unsuccessful expedition against Spain, under Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, in the character of a volunteer, and in the following year obtained a pair of colours in the regiment commanded by Sir John Burroughs, in which he served in the equally unfortunate, but less discreditable, affair of the Isle of Rhé. He remained long without promotion, fighting in the Low Countries under the Earl of Oxford, and afterwards Lord Goring, by whom he was at length appointed to a company; but he had studied his profession with the most indefatigable attention, and was not less distinguished by his courage, and with those recommendations returned in 1638 to his country, in that unhappy moment which made it, after a century and half of repose, a field of speculation to military adventurers. On the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion, he obtained, through the interest of his distant kinsman, the Earl of Leicester, and his son, Lord Lisle, the commission of lieutenant-colonel of Lord Newport's regiment, and served with considerable reputation in both the King's expeditions to that country.

Scotland had scarcely assumed a deceitful appearance of tranquillity when the Irish rebellion burst forth. Leicester, a man of lukewarm loyalty, who had been appointed to succeed Strafford in the office of Lord Lieutenant, now sent Monk to Ireland, with the command of his own regiment, and the rank of colonel. He behaved so well in that station, that the Lords Justices, for it does not appear that Leicester ever went to Ireland, nominated him Governor of Dublin; but the long Parliament, having just at that period

succeeded in establishing a paramount authority there, the charge was given to another, and he received orders from the Marquis of Ormonde, who commanded the King's army, to return with it to England. He did so, but with much unwillingness, for he was in fact devoted to the Parliament. Ludlow expressly tells us that " he made some scruple to quit the Irish service, and engage in that against the Parliament in England, and was for that reason secured on board a ship while the forces were embarking, lest he should have obstructed their going over;" and we find that, on his landing at Bristol, he was met by orders both from Ireland and from Oxford, where the King then was, depriving him of his regiment, and directing Lord Hawley, the Governor, to restrain his person. That nobleman, however, permitted him to go on his parole to Oxford, where he excused himself so plausibly to Lord Digby, the Secretary of State, that the King was induced again to accept his offers of service, and gave him the commission of major-general in a corps called the Irish brigade, then besieging Namptwich, in Cheshire, under the command of Lord Byron.

He arrived at that place almost in the moment that Fairfax had brought up a strong body of the rebel forces to its relief, and was taken prisoner, with his brigade, by that officer, and sent to Hull, and soon after to the Tower of London, where he was chiefly supported by the King's bounty till November, 1646, when his friend, the Lord Lisle, having been appointed Deputy of Ireland by the Parliament, negotiated for his release. Monk now openly abandoned the royal cause, subscribed to the covenant, and accompanied Lisle to that country, where they found the King's friends, headed by the Marquis of Ormonde, so formidable, that, after a considerable time passed in ineffectual endeavours to raise a sufficient opposition, they returned home. He was, however, presently dispatched thither again, invested with the chief command of the rebel force in the north, with which he prosecuted for several months that sort of sanguinary chastisement which too frequently occurs in contests between disciplined troops and rude insurgents. Whether this was terminated by the superior strength in that part of Ireland of the royalists, or whether he betrayed to them the cause of his new employers, is somewhat uncertain, but that he concluded a treaty with the Irish chieftain, Owen Roe O'Neil, and was censured for that step by the rebel Parliament at home, are undoubted historical facts. On the tenth of August, 1649, the Commons voted that " they did disapprove of what Major General Monk had done, in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody rebel, Owen Roe O'Neil, and did abhor the having anything to do with him therein: yet are easily persuaded that the making the same by the said Major-General was in his judgment for the most advantage of the English interest in that nation, and that he shall not be questioned for the same in time to come." Ludlow, the most cautious, as well as the most honest, writer for the rebel cause, more unequivocally says, " he met with a cold reception from the Parliament, upon suggestion that he had corresponded with the Irish rebels." Be this as it might, it is certain that he remained now for a considerable time unemployed, a fact which the good humour of history has generally attributed to the anger excited in him by a suspicion of his integrity.

Cromwell, however, who was now approaching to the zenith of his power, drew Monk from his retirement. A remarkable similarity of character had produced in them, as far as their nature would permit, a mutual regard and confidence. The military skill, and even the bravery of the one, and they shone equally in both, were marked by the same reserve and moroseness which distinguished the other. Both were great masters of the arts of dissimulation, but Monk was free from that affectation of pious enthusiasm which his leader displayed with so much effect, and indeed it was not necessary to his purposes. In 1650 Cromwell, having been appointed to command the forces sent against the Scots, who had proclaimed Charles the second, gave him a regiment of foot, and the commission of lieutenant-general of the artillery, and they marched together into Scotland. The victory, if the rout of a panic-struck army may be so called, of the English at Dunbar was ascribed not less to his previous advice, than to his bravery and good judgment in the field; and his activity in dispersing the numerous bands of irregular troops which still appeared in arms after that decisive battle, crushed, for the time, all hopes for the royal cause in that country.

On Cromwell's return he was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, and prosecuted the war with signal success, but with a sanguinary fury which sullied the lustre of his exploits, and we have a frightful instance of this disposition in his conduct at Dundee, where he put Lumsdaine, the Governor, and eight hundred men, to the sword. An ill state of health obliged him soon afterwards to visit his own country, from whence, after a short stay, he departed again for Scotland, with the appointment of a commissioner for the union of that kingdom with the new English commonwealth, and gained much credit with his party by his address in the accomplishment of that affair.

Monk's services were now transferred to the sea. Soon after the commencement of the Dutch war he was joined to Blake and Deane in the command of the fleet, and shared with them the glory of the victories of the second of June, and the thirty-first of July, 1653. He had gained some nautical experience in the outset of his military life, and his utter fearlessness atoned for what was doubtless deficient in him of that skill so abundantly supplied by his two comrades. One of the first acts, however, of the sole government of Cromwell, who in the following December had thrown off the mask, and assumed the title of Protector, was to make peace with the United Provinces, and Monk, who then lay with the fleet on their coasts, remonstrated with warmth to the Parliament against that measure. Cromwell was displeased, and is said to have entertained doubts of his fidelity, and Monk, who had perhaps been too imperfectly apprised of the true posture of politics at home to enable him, according to his custom, to regulate his conduct to their complexion, returned, and, in a single closet audience, satisfied the Protector of his perfect devotion. The Scots, anxious to lighten the load of treachery which hung so heavily on their fame, soon after appeared again in arms for the Crown, and he was sent in April, 1654, to reduce them, with an army of which he was appointed commander-in-chief. He was again successful, and the war, if it deserved that name, was terminated by him in less than four months.

He remained there, singly, for nearly a year, ruling, however mildly, by the authority of the sword, when Cromwell appointed seven persons to govern that country, under the denomination of his Council of State for Scotland, and Monk, who was named among them, seems immediately to have assumed, with the tacit consent of his colleagues, the direction of all affairs there. He exercised his power, which was nearly absolute, with remarkable discretion and mildness, and was so affable, which seemed to those who best knew him not well to accord with his nature, towards the leaders of all parties, that Cromwell became jealous of his popularity, and secretly employed various artifices to abate it. Monk's obedience, however, was invariable: he executed with the utmost punctuality all orders that were sent to him; imparted from time to time the minor plots of the loyalists which came to his knowledge; and disclosed to Oliver, with an ostentatious promptitude, a letter, in terms too general to attract suspicion to himself, which he had received from Charles, then at Cologne. Meanwhile he foresaw the downfall of the new and unnatural system by which his country was now ruled, and had probably already determined on taking that part which it fell however to his lot to perform somewhat sooner than he expected. His long absence from the seat of government, for he remained in Scotland for five years, had peculiarly aided him in his endeavours to bring it gradually to maturity. Cromwell during that period watched him with the keenest suspicion, but the caution and vigilance of the General eluded the possibility of specific accusation. This conflict of cunning seems at last to have assumed the air of a sportive trial of skill between two adepts. Cromwell, shortly before his death, wrote a long letter of business to Monk, with the following postscript:— "There be that tell me that there is a certain sly fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

Oliver, however, on his death-bed particularly recommended Monk to his son as a counsellor, of which Richard, on his accession to the usurped sovereignty, immediately apprised him. He answered by an address, full of professions of fidelity, in which he was joined by his officers; and by private letters, in which he advised the new Protector to call

a Parliament; to encourage a learned, pious, and moderate ministry in the church; to permit no councils to be held by military men; and to endeavour to make himself master of the army; and he lost no time in proclaiming Richard in Scotland. The poor man endeavoured to follow his directions on all those points, and by so doing completely unhinged the loose remains of an ill-constructed government, which the courage and the talents of Oliver had with difficulty held together. The army, enraged at his attempts to curb their power, and aided by the whole body of the fanatical clergy, forced him to dissolve his new Parliament within five months after it had been elected; and the remains of that which had been last dismissed by Oliver took their places in the House of Commons, in contempt of his authority, and on the mere invitation of the military. Their first acts were to abrogate the office of Protector, and to ordain what they called a Commonwealth, and Monk readily joined in their measures, and subscribed with his officers the engagement required by them against the placing of any single person at the head of the government, but particularly Charles Stuart. This wretched counterfeit of a Parliament was presently after obliged to yield also to the army, which elected a new body of administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, the last phantom of expiring rebellion.

While these matters were passing, Monk remained in Scotland, apparently occupied merely in his government of that country, and in his military command there. When he interfered in affairs at home, it was with great wisdom, gravity, and temper, and with a shew of the most perfect disinterestedness, and he never offered his advice unasked. This conduct, in a time when almost all other public characters were deservedly despised for their folly, or hated for their dishonesty, had gained him a mighty popularity. The nation gradually accustomed itself to look to him for relief, with a daily increasing confidence, and to trust at length implicitly to his judgment, and his good intentions, for the means. This disposition in the people was much increased by the treachery of an abortive attempt made by the Committee of Safety to seize his person at his residence at Dalkeith, and to send him to London in a frigate, which lay for that purpose in Leith roads, and the discovery of that plot accelerated the opening of the great scene which he had long meditated. In the mean time he carried on a constant correspondence with the Parliament, which continued to sit, though with scarcely any shadow of authority, and had the address to persuade that body that it was his sincere intention to aid it to his utmost in the establishment of a republic. From his brother, Nicholas Monk, a clergyman, and his brother-in-law, Clarges, who were the instruments of that intercourse, though both were royalists, and more in his confidence than any other men, he concealed his design with equal caution. The Committee of Safety at length sent several regiments against him under Lambert and Fleetwood, and this military motion, which he affected to consider as an act of rebellion against the Parliament, furnished him with a pretext to march to London with his army, professedly for the defence of that body.

He was received with all respect, and with great demonstrations of joy, and the palace of Whitehall was assigned for his residence. On the sixth of February, 1659, he was introduced with extraordinary ceremonies to the Parliament, where, modestly standing behind a crimson velvet chair which had been placed for him, he amused them with a short speech, thanking God for having made him the instrument of restoring them, acknowledging fully their authority, and warning them equally against the machinations of cavaliers and fanatics. Just at this period, the corporation of London, whether in private concert with Monk, or merely in its inveterate inclination to lend its wisdom to the concerns of the State, protested vehemently against the authority of the House, on the ground of the exclusion of the existing members of the long Parliament. A vote was hastily passed, directing the general to arrest, by military force, the most active of those citizens. He remonstrated against the severity of the measure; received a more peremptory order; and, instead of obeying it, marched his troops, which were entirely devoted to him, into the city, and joined it in its defiance of the House. A great number of that body, as well as the whole of the secluded members, having now discovered the vast extent of his influence, flocked around him at his call. He once more formed, by his own authority, a governing

power, which, without wasting time in considering what denomination it should assume, passed some resolutions, the most important of which were for the abrogation of the engagement made in the preceding December, "to be true to the Commonwealth of England, without a King, or a House of Lords;" and for the calling a new Parliament, to meet on the twenty-fifth of April, 1660. It became now clear to all discerning men, that his intention was to restore a kingly authority. The old leaders among the regicides, to avoid its falling into the hands of Charles, whose vengeance they dreaded, determined to offer it to Monk, whom they mortally hated, and used the strongest arguments that they could devise to persuade him, but he positively refused. He still however studiously concealed his sentiments, nor was it till within a few days before the meeting of the Parliament that he suffered them to be imparted to Charles himself, by Sir John Granville, the first person of the many whom the King had from time to time deputed to him that he had admitted to the slightest communication. The Restoration immediately followed.

Monk received his rewards with the same appearance of modesty and simplicity which had always distinguished him. Charles, immediately upon his landing, invested him with the Order of the Garter, and, within a few days, called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Master of the Horse, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces. He was soon after made first Commissioner of the Treasury, and created Baron Monk, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle. To these honours were added the grant of an estate of inheritance of the annual value of seven thousand pounds, and other pecuniary gifts to a great amount. When he took his seat with the Peers, the Commons, a compliment never before practised, waited on him in a body to the door of that House: indeed the benefit which he had conferred on his country was far beyond the reach of any compensation which dignities and wealth could convey. He was afterwards appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex, and of the borough of Southwark, and in 1664, the management of the Admiralty was committed to his charge. In the following year he was joined to Prince Rupert in the command of the fleet, and in the spring of 1666 sailed once more against the Dutch, and engaged them in a most severe action, the result of which, though all concur in their testimony to the bravery of the English and their leader, has been very differently reported by party writers. This, if we except his being again placed at the head of the Treasury, on the death of the Earl of Southampton, in May, 1667, was his last public employment. The prodigious activity and fatigue of his life had produced a premature decay in a body naturally of great strength. He became dropsical and asthmatic about that period, and, after many amendments and relapses, died at the Cockpit, which had been given to him by the King for his residence, on the third of January, 1670-1; and was buried with prodigious pomp, at the public charge, in Westminster Abbey.

The narrow limits of a work like this prohibit the possibility of attempting to give any detail of a character in which the principal features were invariable caution and reserve, or to estimate the conduct of one, every public act of whose life, till he had attained to the summit of his grandeur, seemed calculated to excite the most opposite passions and prejudices in the minds of conflicting factions. The consideration of Monk's mysterious singularities seems to have confused not only the general judgement, but even the political prejudices, of the two great historical writers of his time, for we might have fairly presumed that he had been long enough a rebel to incur the enmity of Lord Clarendon, and to ensure the good graces of Burnet, and yet Clarendon is his best apologist, and the Bishop the bitterest of his traducers. The former tells us that "when the war broke out in England between the King and the Parliament, Monk fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament;" but that it proceeded "from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them;" that, when he soon after openly turned his back on the crown, and accepted from the rebels a command in their army in Ireland, he did it "because he had pleased himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King:" that the warmth after-

wards of his fidelity to Cromwell, notwithstanding, was such that " those of his western friends who thought best of him" (meaning of his inclination to loyalty) " thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived;" and yet, that, " as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the King than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard." But the most astonishing of all the noble writer's assertions respecting him is, that " his professions were so sincere, he being throughout his life never suspected of dissimulation, that all men thought him worthy of trust." It may be observed here, but with no view of charging the virtuous Clarendon with an interested partiality, that for many years following the Restoration, a constant friendship and agreement, as well in political as in private life, subsisted between Monk and himself, though Monk in the end joined the Chancellor's enemies.

Burnet loses no opportunity of defaming him. If we are to give credit to that writer, we must believe that Monk, to use the Bishop's own words, had a very small share in accomplishing the Restoration without bloodshed, though he obtained both the praise and the reward: that the only service he did in the prosecution of that great affair was in seizing the proper moment for proposing it to the Parliament: that, if he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired, because less known, and seen only in one advantageous light; but that he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to put upon outward appearance: that he and his wife were ravenous, and asked and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied to them, till he became so useless, that little personal regard could be paid to him: that on the prosecution of the Earl of Argyle, he had sent to Scotland, with an inexcusable baseness, certain private letters which Argyle had written to him during the rebellion, to be used as evidence on that nobleman's trial: that he was the chief adviser of the sale of Dunkirk, and of Charles's unpopular match with the Infanta of Portugal. Burnet's censures are perhaps just; for, if we strip the character of Monk of the different varnishes which have been applied to it, the truth seems to be, that he was little more than a great and fortunate military adventurer, who seldom suffered scruples of conscience to stand in the way of his successes.

Monk possessed, in a decent degree, the talent of literary composition. " This man," says Lord Orford, " was an author; a light in which he is by no means known, and yet in which he did not want merit. After his death was published by authority, a treatise in his own profession, which he composed while a prisoner in the Tower, called ' Observations upon Military and Political Affairs, written by the most honourable George, Duke of Albemarle,'" &c. It consists of thirty chapters, and was placed by him in the hands of his friend and patron the Viscount Lisle, by whose direction it was published in 1671: several of his letters and speeches have also been printed. He married a person who had lived with him some years in a less reputable way, Ann Clarges, a milliner, the daughter of a blacksmith in Drury-lane, and had by her an only child. " Her brother, T. Clarges," says Aubrey, in his Sketches of the Lives of Eminent Men, lately published, " came a ship-board to General Monk, and told him his sister was brought to bed. ' Of what?' said he—' Of a son.'—' Why then,' said he, ' she is my wife.'" She was a woman of masculine character and furious temper, and of considerable powers of mind, and it has been said that Monk had so good an opinion of her understanding, that he often consulted her in great emergencies. She survived her husband but for a few days. Their son, Christopher, who was sixteen years old at the time of his father's death, in whose bed-chamber he had been married, two days before that event, to Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ogle, inherited, together with the honours, a real estate of the clear annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds, and sixty thousand pounds in money. He died, however, in 1688, in the flower of his age, without issue: the titles became extinct; and the most part of his great fortune, after a tedious suit between his kinsman, John Granville, Earl of Bath, and the Earl, afterwards first Duke, of Montague, who had married his widow, was decreed, by the Lord Keeper Somers, to the Earl of Bath.

Margaret of Lancaster,

Mother of Henry VII.th

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Derby.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper.

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MARGARET OF LANCASTER,

MOTHER OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

We must form our opinion of this illustrious lady rather from inferences than from facts. The darkness of the distant age in which she lived allows us but an uncertain view of the several features of her character, but cannot wholly shroud from our observation the mild splendour which seems to rest on every part of it. She appears to have united to the strictest piety the practice of all the moral virtues, and to have chastened, while she properly cherished, the grandeur of royalty by the indulgence of domestic affections, and the retired exercise of a mind at once philosophic and humble. She stepped widely, it is true, out of the usual sphere of her sex, to encourage literature by her example and her bounty, but she cautiously confined herself within it, to avoid any concern in the government of the state after Henry had mounted the throne. She loved him as her son, and obeyed him as her sovereign, with equal simplicity, and seemed to have forgotten that, in the opinion of no small party, he reigned in some measure by her tacit appointment. History surely has treated her rather with complaisance than with justice; but we have lost in the lapse of years most of the positive evidence of her merits, and the careless wit of the most accomplished and popular recorder of biographical anecdotes that our day has produced, has yet further depreciated those merits by wanton and misplaced ridicule.

Henry, however, derived from her a most imperfect title, if any, to the throne. She was the only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by Margaret, daughter and heir of John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and widow of Sir John St. John. Her father was second born son, but at length heir, of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who was eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third Duchess, Catherine Swynford: but the children of John of Gaunt by that lady were born before marriage, and had been invested, by a royal charter, confirmed by Parliament, with all the rights of legitimacy, save the inheritance of the Crown, with regard to which that charter is wholly silent. Her first marriage too, the sole issue of which was Henry, though it had in it yet more of royalty than her birth, was totally out of the line of that inheritance; for her husband, Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, though better known by the general description of brother to Henry the sixth, was in fact but the son of that Prince's mother, Catherine, daughter of Charles the sixth, King of France, by her second husband, Owen Tudor, a private gentleman of Wales. Such, however, in that rude age were the ignorance or the contempt of law, and the rage of party, that the Lancastrians were inclined to assert Henry's right under the mere authority of these shadows of descent, and were cooled and dissuaded by the prudence of his mother. She remained in retirement, affecting a perfect unconcern as to public affairs, and such good-will and submission to Richard the third, that she came to London purposely to hold up the train of his Queen at their coronation. She besought him, with seeming frankness and simplicity, to receive her son into his presence and favour, and to permit him to offer his hand to one of the Princesses, daughters of Edward the fourth. Meanwhile she treated secretly with the Duke of Buckingham, who, from Richard's great friend, had become his bitterest enemy, and with the Queen Dowager, for that marriage, and settled with them many of the preliminary steps to the great event which succeeded. These negotiations, however, which were conducted chiefly by Morton, Bishop of Ely, were not long unknown to Richard. Henry, with his followers, were attainted, and Margaret, with a lenity which could have arisen only from fear, was confined to

the house of her then husband, the Lord Stanley, and released by the final overthrow of Richard.

The exaltation of her son to the throne seems to have been the signal for her retreat from all public concerns; but she did not abandon the Court. We find her constantly a party in all the splendid feasts and ceremonies of Henry's reign which have been recorded; a fact which clearly contradicts those who have reported that her piety was of the gloomy and ascetic cast. That she was sincere and regular in devotion has been abundantly proved, and penance was one of the duties enjoined by her church. She practised it therefore with severity, even to the use of inner garments and girdles of hair-cloth; but when the performance of her task permitted, she could throw them off, and, with a cheerful heart, enjoy, as well as acknowledge, the blessings which had been lavished on her. The nature and character indeed of her numerous and splendid public foundations tend to acquit her of any suspicion of blind and superstitious bigotry, for they were rather dedicated to learning and charity than to religion; and we need no better proof of her affection to those institutions than the personal attention which she bestowed on their progress. St. John's and Christ's Colleges, in Cambridge, were erected and endowed at her sole charge. She founded a perpetual divinity lecture in that University, and another in that of Oxford, where she constantly maintained also a great number of poor scholars, under tutors appointed and paid by herself; an alms-house near Westminster Abbey, for poor women, and a free-school at Wimbourn, in Dorsetshire. Her constant counsellor in these, and indeed in all her designs and actions, was her chaplain and confessor, the wise, learned, pious, and candid, John Fisher, for whom, in the year 1504, she obtained the See of Rochester. The following character of her, extracted from the oration delivered by that Prelate at her funeral, the second period in which so evidently glances at the ruling fault in her son's disposition, has an air of such simple fidelity, and asserts so many facts which must have been then of public notoriety, that we can scarcely doubt its truth, especially if we consider with it the reputation of him by whom it was pronounced.

"She was bounteous and lyberal to every person of her knowledge or acquaintance. Avarice and covetyse she most hated, and sorowed it full moche in all persons, but specially in ony that belonged unto her. She was of syngular easyness to be spoken unto, and full curtayse answere she would make to all that came unto her. Of marvayllous gentyleness she was unto all folks, but specially unto her owne, whom she trustede, and loved ryghte tenderly. Unkynde she woulde not be unto no creature, ne forgetful of ony kyndeness or servyce done to her before, which is no lytel part of veray nobleness. She was not vengeable ne cruell, but redy anone to forgete and to forgyve injuryes done unto her, at the least desyre or mocyon made unto her for the same. Mercyfull also and pyteous she was unto such as was grevyed and wrongfully troubled, and to them that were in poverty and sekeness, or any other mysery. She was of a singular wisedom, ferre passyng the comyn rate of women. She was good in remembraunce, and of holdynge memory; a redye witte she had also to conceive all thyngs, albeit they were ryghte derke. Righte studious she was in bokes, which she had in greate number, both in Englysh, and in Latin, and in Frenshe; and, for her exercise, and for the profyte of others, she did translate divers matters of devocyon out of the Frenshe into Englyshe. In favour, in words, in gesture, in every demeanour of herself, so grete nobleness did appear, that what she spake or dyd it mervayllousley became her. She had in a maner all that was praysable in a woman, either in soul or body."

The translations here spoken of by Fisher, at least such of them as are now known, were "The Mirror of Gold for the sinful Soul," from a French translation of a book in Latin, intitled "Speculum aureum Peccatorum;" and the fourth book of Gerson's treatise of the Imitation of Christ, also from a French version of the Latin original. A detailed account of these infinitely rare pieces, which are among the earliest essays of English printing, may be found in Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies.

In treating of one with regard to whom we possess so few evidences nothing that has been proved ought to be omitted. I doubt, however, whether any apology may be necessary

for the insertion of a letter from Margaret to the King, her son, from Dr. Howard's Collection of Papers, though the matters to which it relates are of a private, and indeed insignificant, nature; for the marks which it exhibits of a mind at once prudent and active, of a kind heart, and particularly of parental fondness, render it highly interesting. It is, perhaps, too, the most polished specimen extant of the epistolary style of her time. I have taken the liberty only to modernize the obsolete orthography, which, in the original, would render the whole nearly unintelligible to most readers.

" My dearest, and only desired joy in this world,

" With my most hearty loving blessings, and humble commendations, I pray our Lord to reward, and thank your Grace, for that it hath pleased your Highness so kindly and lovingly to be content to write your letters of thanks to the French King for my great matter, that so long hath been in suit, as Master Welby hath shewed me your bounteous goodness is pleased. I wish, my dear heart, if my fortune be to recover it, I trust you shall well perceive I shall deal towards you as a kind loving mother; and, if I should never have it, yet your kind dealing is to me a thousand times more than all that good I can recover, if all the French King's might be mine withal. My dear heart, if it may please your Highness to licence Master Whytstongs for this time to present your honourable letters, and begin the process of my cause, for that he so well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the writings from the said French King, with his other letters to his Parliament at Paris, it should be greatly to my help, as I think; but all will I remit to your pleasure; and, if I be too bold in this, or any of my desires, I humbly beseech your Grace of pardon, and that your Highness take no displeasure.

" My good King, I have now sent a servant of mine into Kendall, to receive such annuities as be yet hanging upon the account of Sir William Wall, my Lord's chaplain, whom I have clearly discharged; and, if it will please your Majesty's good heart, at your leisure, to send me a letter, and command me that I suffer none of my tenants be retained with no man, but that they be kept for my Lord of York, your fair sweet son, for whom they be most meet, it shall be a good excuse for me to my Lord and husband; and then I may well, and without displeasure, cause them all to be sworn, the which shall not after be long undone. And, where your Grace shewed your pleasure for . . . . . the bastard of King Edward's; Sir, there is neither that, or any other thing I may do by your commandment, but I shall be glad to fulfil to my little power, with God's grace. And, my sweet King, Fielding, this bearer, hath prayed me to beseech you to be his good Lord in a matter he sueth for to the Bishop of Ely (now, as we hear, elect) for a little office nigh to London. Verily, my King, he is a good and well ruled gentleman, and full truly hath served you, well accompanied, as well at your first as all other occasions; and that causeth us to be the more bold, and gladder also, to speak for him; howbeit my Lord Marquis hath been very low to him in times past, because he would not be retained with him; and truely, my good King, he helpeth me right well in such matters as I have business within these parts. And, my dear heart, I now beseech you of pardon of my long and tedious writing, and pray Almighty God to give you as long, good, and prosperous life as ever had Prince, and as hearty blessings as I can ask of God. At Calais Town, this day of St. Anne, that I did bring into this world my good and gracious Prince, King, and only beloved son, by

Your humble servant, beadswoman, and mother,

MARGARET R."

This eminent lady was born in 1441, at Bletsho, in Bedfordshire. The splendour of her rank, and the vast fortune to which she was presumptive heir, raised many competitors for her hand. Of these Edmund de la Pole, afterwards the last Duke of Suffolk of his family, and Edmund, Earl of Richmond, of whom some account has been already given, were selected for her choice, and she determined in favour of the latter. In an age so fond of miracles, and on an occasion so important as the marriage of a royal heiress, it is not strange that her choice should have been ascribed to supernatural dictation.—" When

the Lady Margaret, his mother," says Lord Bacon, at the conclusion of his life of Henry the seventh, "had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a Bishop, in pontifical habit," (who, by the way, the good Fisher assures us was St. Nicholas) "did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, the King's father, for her husband." Richmond died in 1456, little more than a year after the nuptials, leaving his highly destined heir at the age of fifteen weeks, and Margaret, not long after, became the wife of Sir Henry Stafford, second son to Humphrey, the great Duke of Buckingham, by whom also she was left a widow. She was once more married, for in those unhappy days no state could be more perilous than that of wealthy widowhood; but, to prove that she sought only a protector, she took on that occasion a vow of continency, administered by Bishop Fisher, which is said to be yet extant in the archives of St. John's College, in Cambridge. Her third husband was Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards the first Earl of Derby of his name, whom she likewise survived. She died on the twenty-ninth of June, 1509, three months after the accession of her grandson, Henry the eighth, and was buried in the superb chapel then lately erected in Westminster Abbey.

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William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Pembroke.

Drawn by H. Cousins, & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Holl

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WILLIAM HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE.

THIS noble person, who has scarcely ever yet been named but to be praised, is generally called, but perhaps with too strict a genealogical nicety, the third of his family who held that title: it might be not only more liberal, but possibly more correct, to style him the fifth. He was the elder of the two sons of Earl Henry, by his third Countess, the celebrated Mary, daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney; was born at Wilton, on the eighth of February, 1580; and at the age of thirteen went to complete his education at New College, in Oxford, where he remained for about two years. We do not hear that he travelled, and it is probable that he left the university to take up a long residence with his parents, and to submit his ardent spirit to the wholesome strictness of their governance. At a date so late as the nineteenth of April, 1597, Rowland Whyte, the agreeably gossiping correspondent of many of the nobility, but especially of the Sidneys, says, in a letter published in Collins's Collection, to Sir Robert Sidney, "my Lord Harbert hath, with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live at London, yet not before the next spring." He came accordingly about that time, and we have, from the same hand, a chain of small circumstances which sufficiently let us into his history for the two following years, narrated with that delightful freshness of unstudied relation which renders the intelligence of private letters so peculiarly interesting.—He arrives in the summer of 1599, during a sudden levy of troops on the rumour of a Spanish invasion—intreats his father to lend him armour and a steed—is named to attend the Queen's person, with two hundred horse—lives amidst the musters, and "swaggers it among the men of warre"—becomes a courtier, and is blamed "for his cold and weak manner of pursuing her Majesty's favour"—is accounted a melancholy young man—is at length highly favoured by her, and expected "to prove a great man in court"—prepares for masquing and tilting; "my Lord Harbert," says Whyte, in one of those epistles to Sir Robert, in the autumn of 1600, "resolves this year to shew himself a man of arms, and prepares for it; and, because yt is his first tyme of running, yt were good he came in with some excellent devise;" and, in a following letter, "my Lord Harbert is practising at Greenwich: he leapes; he daunces; he sings; he gives counterbuffes; he makes his horse run with more speede," &c. We descry in these small notices the dawnings of those bright features of character which afterwards distinguished him—an eager and lofty spirit; an indignant disdain of the common arts of a court; a disposition to serious reflection; and a cheerful readiness to cultivate favour which he might honourably acquire. Elizabeth easily discovered the merit which he scorned to force upon her notice, and, had she lived longer, he would, doubtless, have held a prominent station on the page of history.

On the nineteenth of January, 1600-1, he succeeded to his father's dignities, and was among the first Knights of the Garter elected after the accession of James. His qualities, however, were not of that light and pliant order which usually bespoke favour in that Prince's court. He was appointed Governor of Portsmouth in 1609, but had no office worthy of his rank till 1615, when he succeeded Carre, Earl of Somerset, in that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. He was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Wood, who is most likely to be right on that head, informs us that he was unanimously chosen in 1626, but several other writers date his election to the Chancellorship in 1615. About the time that he acquired that dignity, he resigned his appointment of Lord

Chamberlain, to enable James to give it to his brother Philip, who afterwards succeeded him in the Earldom, and accepted in lieu of it that of Steward of the Household; and in 1630 received from Charles the first the offices of Warden and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent, and Warden of the Stanneries. Of all the great men, however, of his time Lord Pembroke took the least concern in public affairs, for the qualities of his mind and heart were wholly irreconcileable to the character, always weak, frequently base, and too often wicked, of the reigns in which he flourished. What we know of him we owe therefore to the reverence and affection in which he was held, not as a statesman nor a courtier, but for all those excellencies which constitute, in the large and original sense of the phrase, a perfect gentleman. His character, as Lord Orford justly observes, "is not only one of the most amiable in Lord Clarendon's history, but is one of the best drawn;" nor can the report of the great historian be ascribed to the political partiality with which he has been sometimes charged, Lord Pembroke having died long before the commencement of the rebellion. That beautiful piece has been of late years more than once republished, but these pages must not, therefore, be deprived of so useful an ornament.

"William, Earl of Pembroke," says Lord Clarendon, "was the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of that age, and having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more reverenced in the country; and as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him; but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly. He lived many years about the court before in it, and never by it, being rather regarded and esteemed by King James than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's house, more for the court's sake than his own, and the court appeared with the more lustre because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit, and lived towards the favourites with that decency as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men; and he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them chuse another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

"He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it, and his friendships were only with men of those principles; and as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was placed in a court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air; yet his memory must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed. He was not without some allay of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune by taking her person into the bargain) he was immoderately given up: but therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that

he was not so much transported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune; and some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind begun to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgences."

Anthony Wood, by placing him in other points of view, exhibits to us new graces in a character to which Lord Clarendon had already invited so much respect. "He was," says Wood, "the very picture and viva effigies of nobility; a person truly generous; a singular lover of learning, and the professors thereof, and therefore by the academians elected their Chancellor. His person was rather majestic than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, was full of stately gravity. His mind was purely heroic: often stout, but never disloyal; and so vehement an opposer of the Spaniard, that when that match fell under consideration in the latter end of the reign of King James the first, he would sometimes rouse, to the trepidation of that King; yet kept in favour still, for his Majesty knew plain dealing, as a jewel in all men, so was in a Privy Counsellor an ornamental duty; and the same true-heartedness commended him to King Charles the first. He was not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himself learned; and endowed to admiration with a poetical genie, as by those amorous and not inelegant airs and poems of his composition doth evidently appear; some of which had musical notes set to them by Henry Lawes, and Nicholas Lanеare. All that he hath extant were published with this title—'Poems, written by William, Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are answered by Sir Benjamin Rudyard; with other poems written by them, occasionally, and apart.'"

The little volume here referred to by Wood made its appearance under singular circumstances. Lord Pembroke, in the chivalrous spirit of earlier days, had elected as the goddess of his chaste idolatry Christian, daughter of Lord Bruce, afterwards the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, and addressed to her numerous poetical effusions. These she had carefully preserved, and, when verging on old age, put them into the hands of Dr. Donne, to be prepared by him for the press. Donne dedicated them to herself, and it is difficult at this time to conceive any thing more ridiculous than that a widow of sixty should have connived at the publication of so gross an offering to vanity as that with which the dedication concludes—"The church that covers his sacred ashes must submit to time, and at last lie buried with him; but this monument that your Ladyship hath erected to his memory will outlast the calculations of all astrologers; who, though they could foretel the time that he should leave us, could set no date to the fame that he would leave behind him; which, though it hath lain asleep in all this noise of drums and trumpets, when all the muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them but a few lame iambics, canting at the corners of our desolate streets, yet they are now content to be awakened by your Ladyship's command, and under your patronage to come abroad, and meet and salute that place that gave them their first being; and to tell the world that whatever was excellently said to any lady in all these poems was meant of you, and, that the poet himself being inspired by your Ladyship, you only, that are descended from an ancient and royal family, have the right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person." These poems, as might be expected, are, with one or two small exceptions, of the amatory class; but they exhibit powers of mind, and of expression, which could not but have been successfully applied to higher and graver themes, and are graced by an elegance of language, and a correctness of versification, of which his time affords but few examples. His editor, Donne, must have blushed for the miserable homeliness of his own muse when he copied such lines as these—

"Wrong not, dear Empress of my heart,
The merits of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart
Who sues for no compassion;
Since, if my plaints seem not to prove
The conquest of thy beauty,
It comes not from defect of love,
But from excess of duty.

"For, knowing that I sue to serve
A saint of such perfection
As all desire, but none deserve,
A place in her affection,

I rather chuse to want relief
Than venture the revealing;
Where glory recommends the grief,
Despair destroys the healing.

Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, though ne'er so witty:
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, dear heart of my heart,
My true, though secret passion.
He smarteth most that hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion."

Or the following; addressed to a lady weeping.

"Dry those fair, those crystal eyes,
Which like growing fountains rise
To drown their banks: grief's sullen brooks
Would better flow from furrow'd looks:
Thy lovely face was never meant
To be the seat of discontent.

Then clear those wat'rish stars again,
That else portend a lasting rain,
Lest the clouds that settle there
Prolong my winter all the year,
And thy example others make
In love with sorrow for thy sake."

To these specimens, which have been inserted by Mr. Park, in his late edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, I will venture to add two others, from the original. The first, for the varied ingenuity used in the expression of a very common, however false, observation.

"Disdain me still, that I may ever love,
For who his love enjoys can love no more:
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,
And ships return'd lie rotting on the shore.
Then, though thou frown, I'll say thou art most fair;
And still I'll love, though still I must despair.

As heat's to life so is desire to love,
For these once quench'd both life and love are done.
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move;
Like basest metals do not melt too soon.
Laugh at my woes, although I ever mourn.
Love surfeits with reward: his nurse is scorn."

The second, on his lady singing, chiefly for the admirable taste and correctness with which it characterises the melodies of certain birds; and to those who may accuse me of attempting to dignify trifles, let me answer that it is, perhaps, in the treatment of such trifles that we find the surest indications of expanded genius; of quick and comprehensive observation.

"Shepherd, gentle shepherd, hark,
As one that canst call rightest
Birds by their name,
Both wild and tame,
And in their notes delightest.
What voice is this, I prithee mark,
With so much music in it?
Too sweet methinks to be a lark,
Too loud to be a linnet.

Nightingales are more confus'd,
And descant more at random;
Whose warbling throats,
To hold out notes,
Their airy tunes abandon.
Angels stoop not now a' days;
Such choiristers forsake us:
Though syrens may
Our loves betray,
And wretched prisoners make us.

Yet they must use some other way
Than singing, to deprive us
Of our poor lives, since such sweet lays
As these would soon revive us."

This nobleman married Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of the Talbots, and had by her two sons; James, born in 1616, and Henry, in 1621, neither of whom survived infancy. He died suddenly, at Baynard's Castle, on the tenth of April, 1630, and was buried in the cathedral of Salisbury. The time of his death, which perhaps I should not have mentioned here but that it may serve to explain a passage in the extract given above from Donne's dedication, is said to have been doubly predicted. "He died," says Wood, "according to the calculation of his nativity, made several years before, by Mr. Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall;" and Lord Clarendon relates, with much exactness of circumstance, that, on the evening of the day of his departure, it was observed in a party of his friends who were supping together at an inn on their way to London, that "he had now outlived the day which his tutor, Sandford, had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive." Granger informs us of a lamentable tradition in the family, that when his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, upon the incision being made, he lifted up one of his hands.

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